AN ACCOUNT

Of the Preſent

PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH IN *SCOTLAND*, IN SEVERAL LETTERS.

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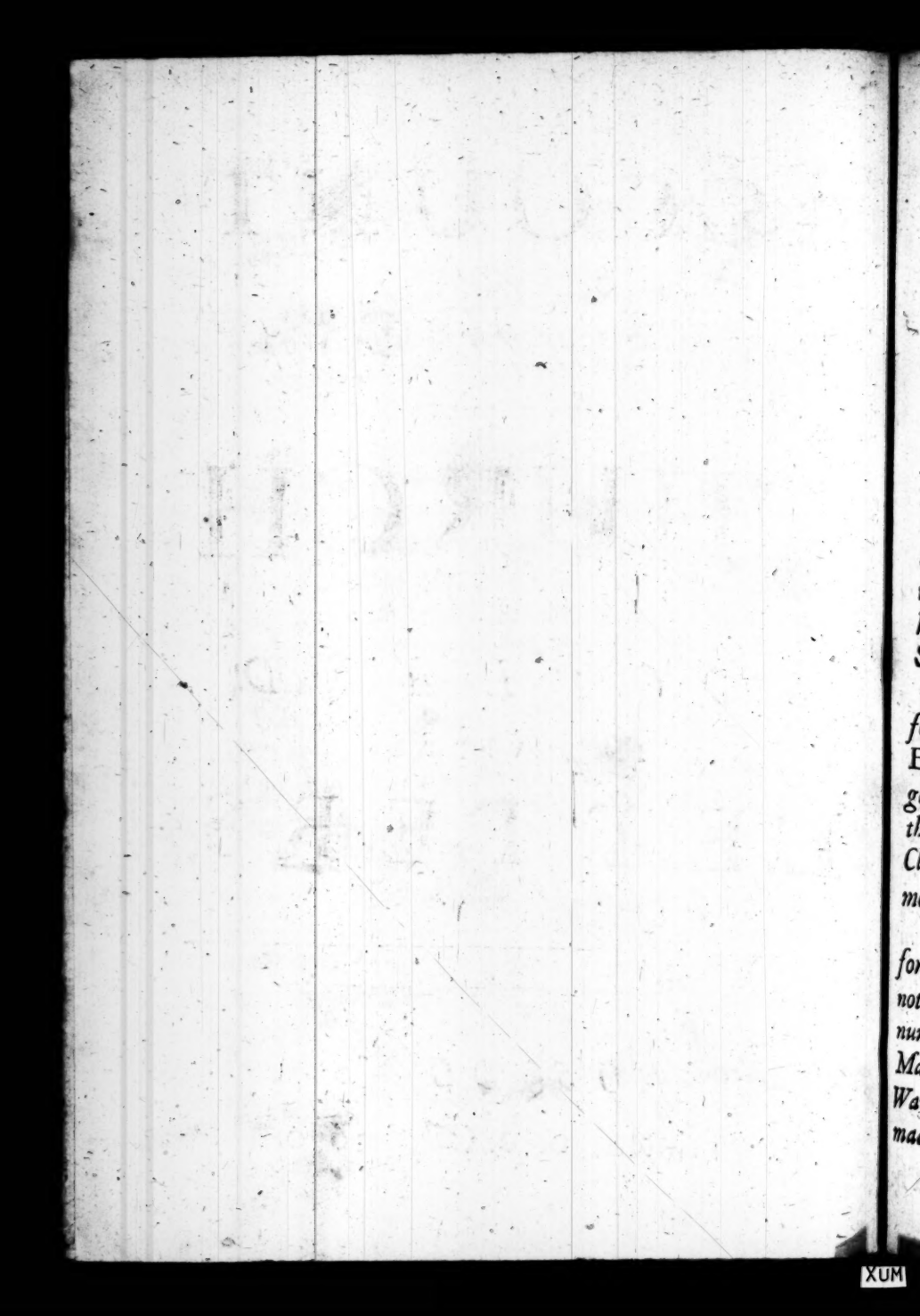

Good Christian Reader,

BY the help of a very little Natural Logick, thou mayst easily observe how far some Mens specious Pretences are out-done by their Actions; their Principles (to which they ought to stand in the Opinion of their great Master Hobbs) exceeded and baffled by their Practice, since those very Persons who lately Addressed for Liberty of Conscience, in words full of flattery, do now Usurp, Tyrannize over others, and deprive them not only of their freedom in Religious concernments, but of their Possessions; and (that no Barbarity may be omitted,) even of their precious Lives, only for adhering to that Holy Doctrine which was once delivered to the Saints, and often established by sundry Laws in that Kingdom.

And it will be no hard matter, after the perusal of the following Sheets, to perceive the vast difference between an English and a Scotch Persecution, (as some call it) how gently and orderly the Church of England proceeded against the Dissenters, in comparison of the Kirk; who by their Clubs and Batoons; have come near to, if not outdone the mercileſs fury of French Dragooning.

And here it may be worthy remark, how dangerous it is for the best Constituted Established Government to comive at, not to say encourage, the profane Vulgar in their Riots. A number of wild Beasts, let loose, have as much Conduct, less Malice, and cannot do half the Mischief: The noise of the Waves, the raging of the Sea, may as soon be stilled, as the madness of the People; it is a Work only for a power Almighty:

that many headed Beast ought to be carefully looked after, and watched.

But further, methinks, it is also very clear by the subsequent Tract, that in some parts of the World there are a company of Resolute Christians, that dare lay down their Lives for the Truth of those Doctrines which they have formerly Taught; and that in those places there may be a large History written, not only of the Doctrine, but real Practice of Passive Obedience, in the Sufferings of those Men, who contrary to the new Maxims of Government, pay Obedience where they can have no Protection.

And now Christian good Reader, if thou shalt be convinced of the verity of these foregoing deductions, by the subsequent undenyable Truths; I have but one thing to requeſt from thee, and that is no more than what thy Profession will oblige and command thee: I mean to put on Bowels of Mercy and Compassion to the Poor, Afflicted, Distressed, to help them as much as thou art able with thy Substance, and to extend that Charity which is already gone over the Alps, *and hath assisted the Protestants in* France, Hungary, *and* Piedmont, *to thy Neighbouring Brethren, and of thy Communion in* Scotland: *and if thy Circumstances are too mean to assist them with thy Purse, be sure to let them have thy Charity for their Sufferings, in thy hearty Prayers for a happy and sudden Deliverance from those, who so Cruelly, and Despightfully use them.*

Farewel.

The First LETTER.

My Lord,

Some instance of my duty to your Lordship may be justly expected, though at this distance, and none I think more seasonable and proper from this place, than the present condition of the Church of Scotland; *which though your Lordship may more fully understand from some other better able to give it, yet that consideration is no apology for my silence, in so Important an Affair; and this use at least will be made of my attempt, to testifie to your Lordship, how ready I shall be to give an account of other Transactions not so well known at* London.

THE Church of *Scotland* is at this time under the Claw of an inraged Lion; Episcopacy abolished, and its Revenues alienated, the Clergy routed, some by a form of Sentence, and others by violence and popular fury; their Persons and Families abused, their Houses ransack'd, their Gowns torn to pieces, with many other injuries and indignities done them, which I forbear naming, that I may not Martyr your Lordships patience by the bare recital of them. My Post in the Army as it has carried me unto many places of this Kingdom, so it has given me as many opportunities to see and lament their condition.

The occasion of all these disasters, is the prevailing strength of the *Cameronian* Party, a Faction here taking its name from one *Cameron* formerly their Leader, and who was slain in his Rebellion: They are a sort of rigid Presbyterians, or rather Fifth Monarchymen; valuing neither K. *William* nor K. *James*, any further, than as these Princes happen to please them; some designing Heads in the Council and Parliament, have made use of those Mens hands to bring their ends about, whose weakness otherways was too discernable. From these disorders they represent abroad the inclination of the People to the Presbyterian Government, and alledge the Popular Zeal; when it is highly suspected they are only tumults of their own making, otherways upon the Complaints and Petitions of injur'd Persons, redress might be obtained, which however they are so far from, that after such remonstrances they fare the

worſe, and have this aggravation to their miſeries; that they are unpitied by thoſe who ought to protect them: Nay now at laſt the Government it ſelf is become a Party againſt them; and where before good-Neighbourhood and well affected Perſons, ſcrened their Miniſters from the Diſſenters Barbarity; now they ſuffer by a form of Law, Acts of Council, and are themſelves reputed Malignants, and ſuffer as a diſcontented Factious People.

And yet the Church Party, both for number and quality was predominant in this Nation: The Nobles and Gentry are generally Epiſcopal, and ſo the People eſpecially Northward, where to my own knowledge they are ſo well affected, that it would be no hard task to bring them, *Cultui & Ritibus cum Anglis Communibus ſubſcribere*, as *Buchanan* ſaith the Ancient *Scots* did when they ſtood in fear of the *French*, and deſired *England*'s aſſiſtance againſt them; my frequent reading of our Service, and Preaching in their Churches to the Auditories ſatisfaction, the Careſſes of the Gentry, and reſpect of the ordinary People, whenever I met them, infers ſo much, and plainly diſcovers that they neither abhorred me nor my way of Religion. At *Perth* I was readily admitted into the Church and Pulpit, though the Magiſtrates refuſed the ſame favor to the Lord *Cardroſs* a Privy Counſellor, and the Lord *Argyle* in behalf of two *Cameronian* Preachers; and though the former of theſe, forced his way thither upon one Sunday, yet the Lord *Provoſt* was better provided againſt another, and took the ſame method, I mean the ſtrength of the City to oppoſe and baffle the Latter; and when it was urg'd by both theſe Lords, that that liberty they deſired, was granted to me ſome Sundays before, The Magiſtrates excus'd themſelves with an order to that purpoſe from Sir *John Lanier*. Even at *Edinburgh* it ſelf, the Faction was ſo weak, that they were forced to ſend privately to the Weſt for aſſiſtance, before they durſt attempt any violence againſt the regular Clergy: But the College of Juſtice being informed of their coming, Armed themſelves and their Friends, and ſo were ſecured both they and their Miniſters, until an order was obtained for laying down their Arms again; Indeed at *Glaſgow* the Faction is ſtronger, and this Town may be ſaid to be the warmeſt neſt of the *Cameronians*, and yet to my knowledge, the moſt conſiderable, and Perſons of the beſt quality are very well affected, and would prevail, were it not for the aſſiſtance of the Mountainers which the

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Malignants, have ſometimes brought privately into the Town to aſſault and overawe the others. But then it is a wonder the adverſary ſucceeded ſo well, and that they have got to ſuch an aſcendancy as to ruin the Church; if it be ſuppoſed that the Church was ſo ſtrong to have acted in her own ſafety, yet it is not to be much admir'd at, if this be conſidered: That in the beginning of this revolution; the Epiſcopal Party in *Scotland*, not knowing at that time how far things would go, judg'd it ſafeſt for them to keep at a diſtance, and having a deep impreſſion of their Allegiance to King *James*, they appeared a little too tender and unconcerned in the Election of Members for the Convention. By which means the diſcontented and Presbyterian Party, as they are in themſelves always very active, ſo upon this occaſion they became more numerous, and carryed it againſt thoſe few Gentlemen, that ſhewed themſelves for the Church and old Conſtitution. The firſt inſtance and diſcovery of their new ſtrength, was their carrying the Vote for the Committee about controverted Elections; a point not obtained with difficulty, as the Convention was then compoſed, and the conſequence was, that no Epiſcopal Gentlemen ſhould be admitted in caſe of a competition, let the number of Electors in Shire or Borough be never ſo unequal: Nay many were allowed to be Members of that Convention, who were uncapable to ſit by the moſt Ancient Laws of the Kingdom, either in Convention or Parliament; and eſpecially ſuch as were not infeoft in their Eſtates, of which inſtances might be given. The Epiſcopal Party finding this, moſt of the Nobility withdrew themſelves both from Convention and Parliament, and if my Lord *Dundee* had lived (who was a great Patron of this Clergy) none doubts but that he had changed the whole State of Affairs in this Nation: And having mentioned that Gentlemans name, I inſert one word concerning the troubles of which he ſeemed to be the whole occaſion in this Country, but did no more I think than what a great many others would have done, on the ſame reaſon of ſelf Preſervation. It appears then, that in the beginning he ſat in the Convention, and intended ſo to do, till he heard of a deſign on Foot, to Aſſaſſinate his Perſon, he complained of this to the Convention, and deſired their Protection: But no notice was taken of it, he repeated his complaints, and offered to prove the attempt; and declared, that without the aſſiſtance of their Authority, he held it not ſafe to attend any longer. But all this to no purpoſe; the only anſwer he had, was, that his non-attendance would be no great loſs

to them; hereupon he withdrew himself to the Mountains, and being a Person of great Spirit and good Conduct, he was resolved not only to defend himself, but call them also to an account, whom he found so much incensed and set against him, and it is generally believed here, he would have gone no further. —— But enough of this.

The only means, My Lord, to remedy all this is the dissolution of this Parliament, and then it is not to be doubted, but the Episcopal Party will shew their own strength, and concern themselves more in a new Election, then they did in that before; for their eyes are now sufficiently opened, and they see, though somewhat late, their former omission and mistake; but withal see no possibility to retrieve themselves, if this Parliament continue. Indeed they wonder, that His Majesty can be very fond of keeping it a foot, since they have taken away so eminent a Branch of his Prerogative, as to deny him a Sovereign Interest here, in what is debatable in Parliament, they wonder that His Majesty is not sensible, how little they value the promoting of his Service, that notwithstanding the great necessity of his Affairs, they have not thought fit to give him a penny: They wonder how the Presbytery of the Church can sute Monarchy in the State, and that one Ruler should give incouragement to the setting up of many; they wonder how it comes to pass, that the Clergy of *Scotland* should be by a form of Law turn'd out of their Benefices, for not praying for King *William* and Queen *Mary in terminis*, when the Intruders themselves, as I have observed, refuse to do it in their Usurped Pulpits, and it is equally strange, that even these Gentlemen that have complyed in that particular, and in reading the Proclamation, are notwithstanding dismist their charges by some other Libel, or in case any be wanting to set the Rabble to work to out them. So that seeing no Obedience can secure them, but that they are destin'd for sacrifices to those wild People; this is the reason, why as yet they have made no address to the King, nor think themselves encouraged to do it, since their inveterate and implacable Enemies have His Majesties ears so much, as to make such an attempt of no effect to them: And, My Lord, they also wonder, that the Church of *England* endeavours not to interpose, and move the King to pity them in their present calamity; since the violent Party in *Scotland* will certainly inflame the discontented in *England*, for they are sworn by their Covenant, to reform *England* upon their model; and to purge the Neighbour-land from Popery and Superstition. My Lord,

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I have had the honour and happineſs to converſe with the Clergy here of the firſt form, and I find them very reverend, and as far as I can judge very learned and judicious Gentlemen, they are exceedingly wronged by the Faction, when they are called ignorant and ſcandalous; it's an unjuſt calumny to ſay they would have betrayed the Laws, which were made for the defence and ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion; when all the Biſhops of *Scotland*, two excepted, were unanimous againſt the repeal of the Penal Laws againſt the Papiſts in My Lord *Murray*'s Parliament 1685. And as great is the popular miſtake concerning the Biſhops Revenues, which they will have to be one Arbitrary Stipend from the Crown, which makes them precarious and ſubſervient to the Princes Will; whereas their Incomes are as independent in that reſpect, as the Biſhopricks of *England*, and have their ſeveral Localities, as they are here called, or Tythes and Mannors to ſupport them: Theſe and the like objections againſt them and the regular Clergy, are only inventions to countenance ſome Mens reſolutions right or wrong to ruin them; and indeed that they are ſo reſolved not only againſt the Biſhops, but all the Epiſcopal Clergy, is evident from hence, that notwithſtanding they have thoſe qualifications, which are even now requiſite for the exerciſe of their Miniſtry, as praying for the King, *&c.* —— Yet ſome other objection is rais'd againſt them, and this now is a very influencing one, that if all the reſt of the Pariſh be Church People, and well diſpoſed to their Miniſter, and but one ſingle Diſſenter among them, it is a ſufficient reaſon to eject and deprive him, how induſtrious ſoever the others are to continue him with them; as in the inſtances of the Miniſters of *Mouſegard*, *Collingtoune*, *Kirkneutoun*, and *Kirkliſtoune*, not to mention ſeveral hundreds, that have been routed by the Rabble, and yet are never reſtor'd to the purpoſe, nor have opportunity to ſhew whether they will comply or no.

My Lord, if the perfect knowledge of theſe things has made ſome impreſſion on me, it's no wonder upon the account of common Chriſtianity. I am ſorry for the diſtreſs of this Church, and in compaſſion to it, I wiſh I were able to contribute any ways to the relief and recovery of it. This is all I can do in order to that, to give your Lordſhip the beſt account I can of her preſent circumſtances; and what hopes ſhe has in proſpect upon the Diſſolution of this Parliament.

What Intereſt your Lordſhip has with Their Majeſties, is a thing

thing well understood; here I humbly recommend the Matter to your Lordship; I beg pardon for this interruption given your Lordship, by one who desires at all times to shew himself, though he may fail in the manner of it.

My Lord,

Your Lordships Most Obedient.

Curate and Servant

Glasgow Octob. 12. —— 89.

POST-SCRIPT.

We are hastening to the Sea-side, to be transported into *Ireland*, an expedition no way suited to a Man of my constitution, but I submit to my Lot and humbly intreat your Lordship to consider me.

The Second LETTER.

SIR,

I Received yours of the date, *&c.* Wherein as you express a mighty concern for the distress'd Episcopal Clergy within this Kingdom; so you prescribe me a task, which will not be so easily perform'd as ye imagine: You tell me, strange Representations are made of them by their Enemies, and disseminated through the whole Kingdom of *England*; you therefore require me to give you a just and true account of their Present State and Persecutions; assuring me, it is not so much to satisfie your curiosity, as to enable you for their vindication. This I say is a very hard task; for to digest an account of that Nature to purpose (in my opinion) would require the diligence of a great head, the expense of much time, and

and a considerable Volume; for 'tis hardly possible to set their circumstances in their due light, without deducing their Affairs from the very Reformation, and dipping in matters of State all alongst, as well as of Ecclesiastical Concern; so closely have the two interests bee still linked together in this Kingdom: Without that, Strangers will never understand sufficiently, either our Constitution, or the Grounds on which the Clergy have been obliged to go in many transactions: Neither will they be able to perceive how unjust and calumnious the Representations be, which are made by their Adversaries; nor how partial they are in their accounts, nor how carefully they take all things by the wrong handle; industriously presenting the dark side of things to the World, where there is any intricacy; and many times blackening even that which is truly fair and beautiful, when it makes for their purpose.

Such a work as that, I am hopeful, ye may see ere long; for I have good reason to believe, some abler Pen than mine will be imployed that way by and by: And therefore, I was once inclined to have referred you intirely to it: But calling to mind again, what earnestness ye express, to have if it were but some overly notice of our Case; and withal considering, that herein you may be gratified without prejudice to that more full and large account: And likewise, that perhaps a present account (though never so short and rude) may have its proper usefulness; I have prevailed with my self, to cast together what follows. I will use as few words as I can, and perhaps I shall not be careful to observe exact Order and Method; but I hope your goodness will pardon that, upon my promising to tell you nothing, but what can be made appear to be true, beyond all contradiction.

I take my Rise from the Death of that Great Prince King *Charles* II. He left this Church of *Scotland* in more peaceful condition, then it had been of a long time before; it was united to a very desirable degree: Generally all *Scotchmen* were of one Communion; for those of the Popish perswasion were scarcely one to 500. The Quakers were not one to 1000. The Presbyterians a good time before, were divided into two Sects, one (but by far the smaller) was against all Indulgences given by the King; the other had taken the liberty, which he had several times granted, but was then retracted. This Party had for the most part returned to the Churches Unity; their Preachers were generally become our Hearers, attended duely our Publick Assemblies, and many participated of the same Sacraments with us. There were no separate Meetings kept (at least

leaſt publickly,) but very rarely, and only by that other Party, now commonly known by the name of *Cameronians*, from one Mr. *Richard Cameron*, who (being ſometimes School-maſter at *Falkland*, and turn'd out of that imployment for inſufficiency) betook himſelf to the trade of Field Preaching, became wonderfully admired of the giddy Multitude, was killed at laſt in open Rebellion, at *Airds-moſs*, and ſo commenced Martyr *Anno* 1680.

This is that Party with whom theſe ſharp Methods were taken, which are complain'd of in the P. of O. his Declaration for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and hugely aggravated by the Paper called the *Scotch* Inquiſition. But had his Highneſs known their practices; (how they (by their Manifeſto's) rejected K. C. as their Sovereign, made many Declarations of War againſt him, Excommunicated him, and (when they had opportunity) Murthered thoſe, who (in their Stations according to their duty,) any ways ſupported his Government, eſpecially Biſhops, Miniſters, and Soldiers; pretending it was done in a juſt War, and they had Commiſſion from King *Jeſus* for it, *&c.*) I doubt he would never have made the treatment they met with a grievance: And if the World knew it (as perhaps it may, ſooner or later) certainly it would have but a very mean opinion of the Author of that moſt ſcurrilous Pamphlet: I only ſaid their Practices, for all Presbyterians (at leſt in *Scotland*, as will appear in the Sequele) have really the ſame Principles: The only ſubſtantial difference is, the *Cameronians* are the more ingenuous Party; the reſt the more ſubtle. Theſe own their Principles when they think it ſeaſonable; thoſe, (like the honeſter Men) upon all occaſions; By theſe *Cameronians* (I ſay) Conventicles were only then kept; and they were condemned for it by the reſt of the Presbyterians, who at that time (in pretence at leaſt) had fallen in love with Moderation.

When King *James* came to the Throne, *Monmouth* in *England*, and *Argyle* in *Scotland* (you know) raiſed a formidable Rebellion. *Argyle* gave out his Manifeſto's, and made many ſpecious pretences, *&c.* it appeared he was earneſt to have had the Presbyterians joyn with him; but his Conditions did not pleaſe the *Cameronians*; and the reſt continued ſtill as formerly in the Kings and Churches Peace. This made us all hopeful, they had once reſolved ſeriouſly never to divide any more, and weaken the Proteſtant Intereſt, by rending the Church in pieces: But it ſeems they went then on other Principles. They found *Argyle*'s attempt deſperate, and their Party weak, and they had ſmarted lately for Enterpriſes of that nature;

ture; therefore they found it convenient to wait a fitter opportunity.

When that Rebellion was quasht, King *James*, being a Roman Catholick, turn'd serious to have some ease granted to those of his own perswasion; so the business of the Penal Statutes came to be manag'd: For this end, it was resolved the Parliament should meet, and before it sate, several Persons of Greatest Note within the Kingdom were called up to *London*; the Duke of *Hamilton*, Sir *George Lockart* (the Greatest Lawyer in the Kingdom) then President of the Session, *&c.* Their errand was to concert Matters, and make way for the King's inclinations in that particular: Amongst the rest, the Arch-bishop of St. *Andrews*, and the then Bishop of *Edinburgh*, now Archbishop of *Glasgow*: They made a condescension too, which afterwards was very much talked of; but I can assure you Sir, it was nothing so odious in it self, as it was represented to be: I have seen it and considered it, it did not go the length (by far) of Pensionary *Fagels* Letter; and to tell the truth freely, so far as I can comprehend things, they had great reason to go so far as they went; and I doubt not it shall be sometimes published to the World, and fully vindicated. But I go on.

The Parliament met; all the Members were qualified according to Law, they took the Test, *&c.* But the Court-designs prevailed not; the Penal Statutes were still kept on foot by that Episcopal Parliament (pardon the Phrase, 'tis ordinary in this Kingdom) and some of the Bishops too were active in the matter. This, to let you see whether the Episcopal Party in this Kingdom can be said to be inclin'd for Popery.

This disappointment irritated his Majesty; wherefore, the next great step was, the suspending, stopping, and disabling all the Laws against Dissenters, and granting a Toleration to Christians of all Perswasions. This was done by publick Proclamation; the first Edition was dated *Feb.* 12. 168⅞. The Presbyterians, as much as any Men, stood amaz'd at the Dispensing Power at first, and seem'd to see clearly the ill consequences of a breach in that juncture. This themselves frankly confess'd at the beginning; and I know it was therefore once very near to a general resolution amongst them, never to take the benefit of it: This all know, that for some Months after the publication of it, no considerable breach was made; they still continued in the same Communion with us.

Ye will easily believe (I think) this grated the Popish Party;

for they ſaw evidently, if the Unity of our Church was not broken, their Intereſts would advance but very ſlowly; ſo pains were taken with the Presbyterians to make them ſeparate. And becauſe perhaps they might ſcruple at the Oath contained in the firſt Edition of the Toleration, a ſecond Edition, without that Oath, was obtained and publiſhed. Whether the Arguments which were made uſe of to engage them, prevailed with them; or by that time, the ſecond Edition came out, (which was *June* 28. 1687.) they had conſidered the ſtrength of their Party, and found they would be able to make a Figure; or, they had then got ſecret inſtructions from *Holland*, to comply with the Diſpenſing Power, in Subſerviency to the enſuing Revolution (for which I know there be very ſtrong preſumptions) I ſhall not readily determine. This is certain, they cloſed preſently with the ſecond Edition.

'Tis true, they pretended the terms in the firſt were too grievous; and that conſiderable Mitigations were made in the ſecond; ſo they could not any longer be diſobedient to the Divine Providence, (you cannot quarrel the expreſſion, when ye know that according to their Divinity, Providential Occurrences make a conſiderable part of the Rule of Faith and Manners) nor neglect ſo bleſt an opportunity: Although 'tis evident to any who compares the two Proclamations, that there are no material alterations. 'Tis certain the ſecond was deſign'd to carry on the ſame Intereſt with the firſt; and it had altogether as much of the Diſpenſing Power in it: Both alike required, that whoever would have the benefit of the Toleration, ſhould own the King's abſolute Diſpenſing Power, by which it was granted; only the Oath contained in the firſt, was left out in the ſecond: But even in the firſt it was not abſolutely required; for the Proclamation ſays no more, but that, inſtead of all former Oaths required by Law, That only ſhould be taken and ſworn, by all His Majeſties Subjects, or ſuch of them, as he or his Privy Council ſhould require ſo to do: And moreover it was intirely diſpenſed with by the King's Letter to his Council, dated *March* 31. *Anno* 1687. ſo that it can never be pretended as a reaſon, why they did not ſeparate for three Months hereafter.

Thus the great Schiſm began amongſt us; the Toleration was it's Parent, and that was the Child of the Diſpenſing Power. But before I proceed to ſhew how it was carried on, let me remark one thing: It is, whatever now they may pretend, it was no ways any Principle of Conſcience, which made them ſeparate from us, on that occaſion. My Reaſons are theſe; They had lived in Communion

nion with us, for ſome years before the firſt Edition of the Toleration: They continued ſo, even for ſome Months after that Edition, *viz.* till they got the ſecond; at leaſt very few broke off in that interim. While they lived in Communion with us, they acknowledged their Conſciences allowed them; indeed, what ſort of Chriſtians had they been, if it had not been ſo? Many (I can find their Names if I be put to it) thanked God, that they were reconciled to us, and frequently proteſted all the World ſhould never again engage them in the Schiſm. Nay ſome of the ableſt of their Preachers, (within a very few Weeks before they embraced the Toleration) ſaid to ſome of the Regular Clergy, they ſhould never do it; they were reſolved never to Preach more in their life time. Further yet, ſome of them, even after the ſecond Edition, continued for a long time reſolved never to engage in it; and it coſt their Brethren much pains, before they could overcome that Reſolution: yea they tell us, to this very day, if they were deprived of their Liberty, they could return to us again. Can there be clearer Evidences for any thing, than theſe are, that it was not Conſcience, but ſome other Intereſt, that involved them in ſuch a general Apoſtacy from one of the greateſt Concerns of Chriſtianity, the Unity of the Church? Indeed, how could ever Conſcience be pretended in the Matter? We had not the leaſt ſinful condition in our Communion: We ſtill maintain'd what themſelves, the ſame Articles of Faith; we worſhipp'd God after the ſame manner: There is no imaginable difference between them and us, in the Adminiſtration of Sacraments; if the Orders of the Church of *England* be valid, ſo are ours. All that was ever controverted amongſt us, was the point of Church Government; 'tis true we uſe the Lord's Prayer and the Doxology, and commonly require the Creed in Baptiſm, which they do not; if theſe can juſtifie a Separation, we are guilty: But if they can, let the World judge. And now theſe things being ſo, I would further ask any Man this Queſtion; whether, when they make ſuch clamours now concerning their bypaſt ſufferings, it can be ſaid, that ever they ſuffered for Conſcience ſake? This by the way.

So was the Schiſm circumſtantiate, as I have ſaid, and being once begun, it was wonderful to ſee how ſoon it came to a conſiderable height; within a few Weeks, Meeting-houſes were Erected in many places; eſpecially in the Weſtern Shires, (the great Neſts of Fanaticiſm) and the Churches were drain'd; Altar was ſet up againſt Altar, and the pretended Presbyter againſt the Biſhop. All arts

were uſed to increaſe their Party, and render the Regular Incumbents contemptible; People were not left to their own choice, to joyn or not joyn with them: But all Methods of compulſion, except down-right force were taken to engage them; if any Man went to Church (whither all had gone very lately) he was forthwith out of favour with the whole Gang; if he was an Husbandman, his hap was good if his Neighbours Cattle were not fed amongſt his Corns in the Night time; if he was a Tradeſman, no imployment for him; if a Gentleman of an Eſtate (a Laird as we call them) his own Tenants would abuſe him to his face, and threaten him twenty violences: in ſhort, nothing was left untryed, that had the leaſt probability of weakning our hands or ſtrengthening their own.

On the other hand, never a more thankful People to His Majeſty. Addreſſes you know, were then much in faſhion, and none more forward than they; witneſs, That famous one entituled, To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty, The Humble Addreſs of the Presbyterian Miniſters, in His Majeſties Kingdom of *Scotland*; and at the foot, Subſcribed in Our Names, and in the Names of the reſt of the Brethren of our perſuaſion at their deſire, in which Addreſs, *They His Majeſties Moſt Loyal Subjects, from the deep ſenſe they have of His Majeſties Gracious and ſurprizing favour, in not only putting a ſtop to their long ſad ſufferings for Nonconformity, but Granting them the Liberty, of the publick and peaceable exerciſe of their Miniſterial Function; as they bleſs the great God, who put it in his Royal Heart, ſo they do withal find themſelves bound in duty to offer their moſt humble and hearty thanks to His Majeſty.* Then they make vaſt Proteſtations in behalf of their Loyalty, *His Majeſty is but juſt to them when he believes them Loyal: And by the help of God they will ſo demean themſelves, as His Majeſty may find cauſe rather to enlarge than diminiſh his favours towards them; and they humbly beſeech, That all who promote any diſloyal Principles or Practices (as they do diſown them) may be looked upon as none of theirs whatſoever name they may aſſume to themſelves.*

And indeed for a good time, (even till they had made a good Party, and the P. of O. was coming) they continued moderate and thankful to a Miracle; for tho by vertue of that ſame Toleration, ſwarms of Popiſh Prieſts were let looſe through the whole Kingdom, infinitely active to gain Converts, compaſſing Sea and Land to make one Proſelyte, yet ſeldom ſo much as one word againſt Popery in any Meeting-houſe: Whether it was that they thought it indiſcreet, to fall on their Brethren who ſtood upon the ſame bottom

tom with themſelves; or they had receiv'd it amongſt their Injunctions from the Court Party, not to meddle with theſe of the Roman Church; or they did not underſtand the Controverſies (which ſeems the moſt probable,) and ſo found themſelves obliged in prudence to let them alone; I am not concerned to determine. 'Tis certain it was ſo *de facto* (for once to make uſe hereof that term) and I have twenty times heard it confeſs'd by their conſtant Auditors. Nay to this very day (though now they may make bold with Popery, without the hazard of giving the preſent Court a diſpleaſure, and it might be expected they ſhould do it, for very obvious Reaſons) they very rarely meddle with it. Their great work is to batter down Antichriſtian Prelacy and Malignancy, Prelacy has been the cauſe of all the Calamities this Nation has groaned under, God knows for how many years; King *Jeſus* has been baniſhed, the Goſpel has not been Preached in this Land theſe 27 years bypaſt. Upon my word I'm ſerious Sir, there's nothing more ordinary in their Sermons then ſuch cant; and though their Texts be commonly taken from the Old Teſtament, yet they are all pat and home to the purpoſe: I could eaſily give you a great many good notes of their Prayers, as well as their Sermons; and condeſcend upon the particular Perſons, *&c.* But perhaps ye may ſee that ſometimes done by it ſelf.

While in theſe Conventicles, Popery was ſo kindly forborn; in our Churches theſe Controverſies were our moſt frequent Subjects; eſpecially in theſe places where Prieſts were ſetting up. This is well known all over the Kingdom; ſome ſuffered, and many were terribly threatned for it, I could give you part of their Names and Hiſtories if it were needful.

Such was the broken State of our Church from *July* 87. till *October* 88, when the late great Revolution began to caſt up; and his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange* was ſaid to be coming to *Britain*, to deliver us from Popery and Slavery, and reſtore our Religion, Laws and Liberties: You know that was an extraordinary Enterpriſe; *Britain* had not been Invaded by any Foreign Prince, for an hundred Years before. Therefore it was expedient his Highneſs ſhould forecaſt, for as kindly a reception as was poſſible; to this end he gave out his Declarations for both Kingdoms. It ſeems that either his Highneſs, has been diffident of the Regular Clergy in *Scotland*, and dreaded they would not ſo readily embark with him, as the Presbyterians were likely to do; or he has had none, or very few of the *Scotch* Nation then about him, but ſuch as were of that perſuaſion.

ſuaſion. For the Declaration for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, we found to be purely Presbyterian: I'm confident Doctor *Burnet* did not Pen it; otherwiſe the Act of *Glaſgow* had not been put into it as a Grievance: He knows very well upon what reaſons it was made, and if he pleaſes, can eaſily juſtifie it; neither had the Clergy of the Weſt (for they muſt be the Men) been ſo generally pronounced ſcandalous and ignorant: He was better acquainted with many of them than ſo; I had rather think, the Doctor had never ſeen that Declaration until it was publiſhed. But what though he had? and for Reaſons of State, thought fit to let it go as it was? 'Tis no great matter. As I ſaid, it was down-right Presbyterian, and preſag'd no good to us: But God be thanked, it found us generally in good preparation for ſuffering Perſecution, for we had caſt up our accounts before, and foreſeen that poſſibly we might be expos'd to Tryals: though we had not much reflected, that it was to be by the hands of Proteſtants. We were confirmed further yet in our ſuſpicions, when we found that thoſe who were engaged in the Presbyterian Intereſts, were flocking up to *London*, and making the moſt numerous, as well as active appearances about his Highneſs's Court; that they only had his ear, and ſeem'd to be the chief Perſons, who (upon His Majeſties Retirement) transferr'd the Government of this Kingdom upon him. By theſe ſteps, we began to ſee further too into the politicks of our Brethren, and upon what Deſigns they had carried on the Schiſm ſo vigorouſly the year before; yet we never dreaded that ſuch horrid Barbarities would be our lot, as afterwards were put in execution. And ſo I am introduced to the main part of my work, which is to give you a brief account, a taſte as it were of our preſent Sufferings; which were they repreſented fully, and in all their proper Colours, perhaps they would not obtain belief among Strangers: Nor will I make it my work at preſent to do it; both for that I intend brevity, and am unwilling to give to the World ſuch a diſguſt at my Native Country, as the Barbarities we met with, fully laid open, muſt needs produce in all thoſe, who have any ſenſe either of Chriſtianity or Humanity. In ſhort then:

It pleaſed Almighty God (to whoſe Providence it becomes us humbly to ſubmit in all conditions) to permit that we ſhould have a Tryal of the Croſs; whereof God forbid we ſhould ever be aſhamed; and, for that end, to give us up to the malice of our Enemies, that they might thruſt us into the furnace. For carrying on which Glorious Work, this was their opportunity; when the certain

tain accounts came of the Prince of *Orange*'s Reſolutions, to come into *England*, all our ſtanding Forces were called thither: So that this Kingdom was left deſtitute of ſuch means as were neceſſary to ſecure the Peace, if any diſturbance ſhould happen to ariſe amongſt us. When that Prince Landed, King *James* being deſerted by his Army, and ſoon after diſown'd by his Subjects; was put upon the neceſſity of leaving *Britain*: And here in *Scotland* his Council very ſoon diſſolv'd, of its own accord, ſo that in effect the Nation was in a manner without Government, by whoſe fault I am not now to inquire. Upon this His Majeſties ſudden Abdication, and voluntary diſſolution of his Council, our Brethren found it ſeaſonable for them to turn ſerious with us. But it was expedient to project how their Game might be ſucceſsful, before they began to play it: Therefore a Stratagem was contrived; a general Maſſacre of Proteſtants was pretended, and alledged to be intended by the Papiſts. But how to be effectual? Seeing their Numbers were ſo very few, eſpecially on the South-ſide of the *Forth*, which was to be the chief Scene of the Tragedy? for that, this ſalvo was at hand: So many Thouſands of *Iriſh-men* were landed in *Galloway*, had already burnt the Towns of *Kirkhudbright* all to Aſhes, and put all to the edge of the Sword, Young and Old, Male and Female, only three or four Perſons (like *Job*'s Nuncio's) had eſcaped; and theſe Savages were poſting hard, to be over the whole Kingdom, *&c.* This Story flew at the rate of a Miracle; for within twenty four hours or ſo, it was ſpread every where through the greater half of the Kingdom. No body doubts now, but People were appointed at ſeveral Poſts, to tranſmit it every where at that ſame time, for it run like Lightning; and wherever it went, it was ſo confidently aſſerted to be true, that he was forthwith a Papiſt, and upon the Plot who disbelievd it. At firſt we all wondered what it might mean; but it was not long before we learned by the effects, what was the Politick; for immediatly in the Weſtern Shires (where the Fiction was firſt propagated) tumultuary Rabbles knotted, and went about, ſearching for Arms, every body's houſe whom they ſuſpected as diſaffected to their Intereſts: The pretext was, that the Country might be in a poſture of defence againſt the *Iriſh*; but the real purpoſe was that all might be made naked, who were inclinable to retard them, in the proſecution of their deſigns upon the Clergy. Eſpecially they were ſure, no Miniſter ſhould have Sword or Piſtol (as indeed few had any) or any other Weapon, that might be uſeful for his defence, if an attempt ſhould be made on him.

When

When they had thus made their preparations for the work (and you would wonder to hear how ſpeedily, and yet how dexterouſly it was done) they fell frankly to it.

It was on Chriſtmas day (that day which once brought good tidings of great joy to all People ;) that day which once was celebrated by the Court of Heaven it ſelf, and whereon they ſung, Glory to God in the Higheſt, on Earth Peace, and good will towards Men: That day which the whole Chriſtian Church ever ſince has ſolemnized, for the greateſt Mercy that ever was ſhewn to ſinful Mortals; that day I ſay it was (to the Eternal Honour of all, eſpecially *Scotch*, Presbyterians) on which they began the Tragedy; for ſo were matters concerted amongſt them, that upon that ſame very day, different Parties ſtarted out in different places, and fell upon the Miniſters: Particularly about five or ſix of the Clock at Night, Mr. *Gabriel Ruſſel* Miniſter at *Govean*, was aſſaulted by a number of Fellows (moſt of them, as I am told, his own Pariſhioners, to whom he had ſometimes done conſiderable Kindneſſes) in his own houſe: They beat his Wife, his Daughter, and himſelf too, ſo inhumanely, that it had almoſt endangered his life; carried off the Poor's Box and other Utenſils of the Church, and threatned peremptorily if he ſhould ever offer after that to Preach there, he might aſſure himſelf of more ſevere treatment.

That ſame night about Eleven of the Clock, another Party came to the Dwelling-houſe of Mr. *Finnie* Miniſter at *Cathcart*; he was from home himſelf: The Seaſon was not only then naturally cold, but a moſt vehement froſt prevail'd; yet (behold their humanity!) they thruſt his Wife, with four or five ſmall Children out of doors, about Midnight; threw out all his furniture, and (till after more than half an hours intreaty) would not ſuffer the poor Gentlewoman with her tender Babes, to have lodging that night, ſo much as in the Stable, nor a Fire of her own Walls to keep the Young ones from the ſeverities of the Weather. The weak tender Children, (and no wonder, when expos'd to ſuch a rigour) almoſt all ſick'ned thereafter: But whether any of them dyed, I know not.

That ſame Night Mr. *Buyd* Miniſter at *Carmunnock*, his Family was as rudely treated; and in many other places, it was ſolemnized after the ſame manner. But I am not at this time, to give you a particular inventory of all the incredible Barbarities, which were either on that, or many ſubſequent days committed: That would make this Letter hugely ſwell beyond its primary deſign; for what work would it require to repreſent particularly How

How they took Mr. *Robert Bell* Miniſter at *Kilmarnock*, from his Chamber on a very froſty day, kept him four or five hours bare-headed, expoſed to the Cold; cauſed his own Sexton to tear his Gown in pieces from his Shoulders; took the *Engliſh* Liturgy from his pocket, and burnt it with much ceremony in the Market-place; calling him Papiſt, and it the Maſs-book in *Engliſh*, *&c.*

How they came upon Mr. *Simpſon* Miniſter at *Gaſtown*, took him out bare-headed alſo, cauſed his Sexton carry his Morning Gown, to the moſt publick place of the Village, (for he had put his Canonical Gowns and Caſſicks out of the way, and it was neceſſary a Gown ſhould be torn; that was an eſſential formality,) where they cauſed him to put it on, and then rent it in pieces. How thereafter they carried him to a River, forced him to wade through it, at one of the deepeſt places, then turn'd his face Northward, ſaying to him, get you gone to your own Country, and ſee for your life you never look Southward or Weſtward again.

How they carried Mr. *Miln* Miniſter at *Cawdir*, his Gown, being from home himſelf, in proceſſion to the Church-yard, made a long harangue, concerning their Zeal for God's Glory and the Good Old Cauſe, after that a long Prayer, then rent the Gown; and concluded the ſolemnity with a volly of ſhot, *&c.* Could there be greater diſhonour done to *Jeſus Chriſt* and his Holy Religion. How they ſmote Mr. *White* Miniſter at *Balingtre*, on the face with the butt of a Musket, for ſpeaking to them with his Cap on, as they worded it, though it was in his own Houſe, and the Fellow that ſaid and did ſo, was a mean Pedler. How they thruſt at his heart with a naked Sword; ſo that both his Cloaths and Skin were pierced, though, ſuch was the good Providence of God, what through the throng that was in the Room, and what through the diſtance the Miſcreant ſtood at, who made the thruſt, the Wound was not dangerous? and how they beat his Wife moſt rudely, though at that time ſhe was ſo big with Child, that ſhe had paſt her Reckning.

How in a mighty ſtorm of froſt and ſnow, they took Mr. *Brown* Miniſter at *Kells* in *Galloway*, then reſiding at *Newtoun*, carried him to the Mercat place about four of the Clock in the Morning, tyed him to a Cart, ſet his face to the Weather, *&c.* in which poſture he had certainly died, if a poor Woman, whoſe heart it ſeems was made of ſofter mettal, had not caſt ſome Cloaths about him.

How they came on Mr. *Francis Roſs* Miniſter at *Renfrew*, and

threw out his Wife the third day after she was brought to Bed, together with her tender Infant.

How they treated Mr. *Guthrie* Minister at *Keir*, in a stormy rainy day, turning all his Family and Furniture out at doors, although three of his Children were dangerously sick, one of a Feaver, the other two of the Small Pox; and how two of them dyed upon that treatment.

How by their rudenesses to Mr. *Skinner* Minister at *Daly*, they first frighted his Daughter, a Young Gentlewoman Aged about twenty, into a Feaver; and then returning after five or six days, while she was in the rage of it, how they turn'd her out of her Bed, pretending to search for arms, though it was very well known the whole Country over, the good Mans genius lay never that way, and so disturbed her, that she dyed raving, amongst her last words repeating these over and over, O! these wicked Men will Murther my Father. How they contrived and carryed on the Tumults at *Edinburgh* and *Glasgow*. What Letters were sent to some; what Citations in Name of the Rabble to others, commanding them to remove from their Churches and Manses under the highest Penalties. What work would it require, I say, to digest all these and the like instances fully and particularly? perhaps the World may sometimes see it done: But it is enough for my purpose at present, to tell you, that these were their common Methods, and by such means, in a very short time, more than two hundred were thrust from their Churches and Dwellings. Do not think I am imposing on you; what I have affirmed can be so attested, that greater Moral Evidence can be had for nothing.

When ye have read thus far, and when your surprise and first horrors are over, and, as your temper is, you fall a pondering what I have told you; I am apt to apprehend, a great many things may offer themselves to your consideration; such is your humanity, that, I know, you will be casting about for Topicks and Apologies to alleviate this heavy charge, I am giving in against our Persecutors. What? (so may you think) certainly no applications have been made to those in power; for what Person in the World bearing the name of a Magistrate, would not have found himself obliged in credit and honour, as well as duty, to fall on speedy remedies for stopping such an impetuous Current of bare-faced Wickedness? Or, at most, they have been but pure Rabble, the scum and refuse of the People, who acted these Barbarities; and they have been so numerous, so fierce and uncontrolable at that time, that Autho-

Authority has been too weak for them; for it is not possible that any of the Nobility or Gentry, and much less, that any of the Presbyterian Preachers, could allow of, or have an hand in such Villanies: Or, if these in Power were acquainted with such things, and yet gave no protection: And if the Rabble had encouragement from any Persons of better Quality; you can hardly miss to conclude, that these Clergy-men who were so treated, have been the most profligate Rogues in the World; Wretches, who deserv'd to be swept from off the face of the earth, without pity, and with all the solemnities of disgrace and contempt; for what else can be imagined to justifie such proceedings? Thus (I say) perhaps, Sir, you may reason with your self, when you are making your reflections on what I have already told you: Be pleased therefore to have a little patience, and consider what I am to tell you further.

No sooner did these outrages begin, than such applications were made, as you your self (I'm sure) will judge sufficient. Such of the Peers of the Kingdom, as were Privy Counsellors, and had not gone for *London* were addressed, but they could bring us no relief: Our next Work therefore was to send up private accounts to *London*, as we had interest or acquaintance, with those of our Nobility and Gentry who were there. But our Enemies had well foreseen all that, and had their instruments ready to run down all private Letters, as the blackest Lies and Forgeries; and we were called all the infamous things that could be: Our design was to work mischief, and breed disturbances. We were Popishly affected; and the Politick of such reports was to hinder the Settlement of the Peace, and Establishment of the Government: In a word, we were mortal Enemies to the Prince of *Orange*, and all his Glorious Designs for securing the Protestant Religion, *&c.* They received Letters to the quite contrary; sure they were, their Correspondents were Men well acquainted with whatever passed; and besides, they were Men of Conscience and undoubted Integrity: They would not conceal the truth, far less would they write Lies and Falshoods; yet their accounts bore daily, that there were no such Persecutions of Ministers, no Tumults, no Rabbles, *&c.* The Kingdom was in a most profound peace, and every Man had all imaginable security, especially the Clergy. With such bold affirmations as these, they perswaded his Highness, on whom was transferred the Government of this Kingdom, that all our accounts were most false and villanous, and he ought not to be-

lieve them; only by them he might judge what a pack we were, *&c.*

This we were advertiſed of by ſome of our Friends: Wherefore, to give his Highneſs convincing Evidence, if it was poſſible, the Brethren of the Seven Presbyteries, (that you may not be ſcandalized at the word, be pleaſed to know that according to the conſtitution of our Church, the Presbyters of the ſame Dioceſs, are commonly combined into ſeveral Conſiſtories or Fraternities: Theſe Conſiſtories meet uſually once in three or four Weeks for Diſcipline; leſſer matters they diſpatch, and the greater they prepare for their Biſhop; and theſe Conſiſtories or Fraternities with us, are commonly called Presbyteries) of *Glaſgow*, *Hamilton*, *Lanerk*, *Air*, *Irwiny*, *Paiſley* and *Dumbartoun*, on whom the Perſecution came firſt, and lay moſt heavily, communicated Counſels, and concluded to ſend up one of their number, well inſtructed, to acquaint his Highneſs with their circumſtances. Accordingly Dr. *Scott* Dean of *Glaſgow* was ſent to *London*: He had with him, an humble Petition for protection, to be preſented to his Highneſs, and a Commiſſion to himſelf to preſent it; each of them ſubſcribed by twelve or fourteen hands: Beſides theſe two Papers, that the evidence might be yet more unqueſtionable, he had likewiſe particular accounts of the injuries and violences done to the Brethren of theſe ſeveral Presbyteries, from their Reſpective Deputies, who met with Power to ſend him, ſubſcribed with their Hands; and wherein they undertook to make good what they Repreſented, upon their higheſt Perils. What more could be required to make Faith? to make the truth of our complaints appear beyond all exception? Yet when the Doctor came to *London* with theſe inſtructions, the good Party continued to have the forehead to contradict all, and run him down with Noiſe and Clamour. However, his Highneſs was convinced then, of the Weſtern Barbarities, and ſeem'd willing to contribute for the protection of the Clergy: So a Declaration was ordered for the preſervation of the Peace of this Kingdom, dated *Feb.* 6. 168$\frac{4}{5}$. And, though Dr. *Scott* was earneſt to have had ſome Clauſes put in it, which had been very proper and uſeful, but could not obtain their inſertion, it cannot be denyed, but it ſeem'd favourable to the Regular Clergy. But would ye know what ſucceſs it had? You may learn that from the Tumult, which happened at *Glaſgow* after it's publication.

Upon the protection promiſed, and the keeping of the Peace commanded by that Declaration, at the deſire of many People of the

the beſt quality within the City, upon the 17th of *Feb.* The Parſon of *Glaſgow* ventured to the Pulpit; but was forced to eſcape for his life before Sermon was ended; for inſtantly, upon notice given that Sermon was in the Cathedral, (by the inſtigation of their Preachers as I am told) all the Meeting-houſes emptied, and forthwith went to Arms, came to the Church, diſcharged ſeveral Guns through the Windows, then made open the Doors by force, *&c.* In ſumm, many were wounded, ſeveral Gentlewomen were ſtript almoſt naked, and moſt rudely treated; but you muſt expect the full account of this from ſome other hand.

So likewiſe Maſter *James Litle* Miniſter at *Trailflat*, upon the Authority of the ſame Declaration, reſolved to have repoſſeſs'd himſelf of his Pulpit; but was exerciſed to purpoſe by a Rabble of Females, who tore not only his Coat, but his very ſhirt from him; and (ſuch was their modeſty) had well nigh done the like with his breeches, had he not cryed to them over and over, that it would be ſhame for them to look on a Naked Man, *&c.*

So little was his Highneſs's Declaration noticed; and when it was objected to theſe Hero's and Heroins of the Reformation; their Anſwer was ready: That Declaration was but a Sham-paper; they knew his Highneſſes mind and reſolutions better than ſo; they would go on in their work, and take their Hazard. Then began we to ſee further into the Presbyterian Intrigues than we had done before; for it required no great skill either in Logick or Politicks, to conclude, that they had got their inſtructions from their Agents at *London*, to continue in their laudable Zeal, notwithſtanding that Declaration: But of this more afterwards. In the mean time, an account of that Tumult at *Glaſgow* was forthwith ſent to his Highneſs, by an expreſs: But no notice was taken of it further, than to refer it to the Meeting of Eſtates, which was to ſet on the 14th of *March*: But before I come to that

Give me leave once more to return to that Declaration, and take notice of one thing: Becauſe the Intereſts of the Clergy were concerned: It is, it's commanding all then in Arms (except the Gariſons of the Fortreſſes, and the Company of Foot entertain'd by the Town of *Edinburgh*) within the Kingdom, inſtantly to disband; and it's diſcharging all Perſons in time coming to take Arms, or to continue in Arms upon any pretence whatſoever, *&c.* There was an Intrigue in this which perhaps ye have not remarked. When the work had gone on ſo ſucceſsfully in the Weſt, eſpecially in

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Glaſgow, by the firſt Tumult, which was there on the 17th of *January*, the Presbyterian Party in *Edinburgh*, (animated thereto by their Brethrens ſucceſs and ſolicitations; for conſtant correſpondence was kept amongſt them) were upon the reſolution of falling upon the Clergy of that City likewiſe: And that it might be done to purpoſe, the Weſtern Zealots were coming to the Town in Troops daily. This the Magiſtrates had notice of; wherefore conſidering what Tumults had been raiſed in the City before, how unfixed the Mobile was, and how much led by Wild-fire and Humour; and ſo, being diffident of the fidelity and forwardneſs of their ordinary Guards: They invited the College of Juſtice to take Arms, and aſſiſt them in defending the Miniſters and ſecuring the Peace of the City. That College (conſiſting intirely of Gentlemen, and Perſons of liberal and generous Education) readily complyed with the invitation, form'd themſelves into a Regiment, and kept Guard for ſeveral days according to the Military Diſcipline. One would think there was nothing here amiſs. On the contrary, it was certainly a moſt generous Action, an undertaking becoming good Patriots, (thus to appear againſt Tumults and Rabbles, the greateſt Plagues of Society, and Enemies to the peace of Mankind) and deſerves to be tranſmitted to Poſterity with the higheſt Encomium's: Yet as generous as it was, and as much of equity as it had on it's ſide, it gall'd the Presbyterians exceedingly; for thereby their Deſigns were diſappointed; they durſt not fall upon the Regular Clergy: Knowing what good affection theſe Gentlemen had for them, and that if any Tumult ſhould ariſe, they would undoubtedly behave themſelves according to their Character. Wherefore, they preſently ſent up hideous accounts to *London* to their Correſpondents, of that matter, who (having then moſt of the Princes ear) eaſily gave him a wrong notion of it, and thereby got that Clauſe put into the Declaration. Nay Sir, ſuch a deep grudge did that behaviour of theſe Gentlemen, beget in the hearts of the Party, that (notwithſtanding they disbanded immediatly upon the publication of that Declaration) there were deſigns on Foot ſince, to have called them to a ſtrict account for it: But why do I ſay it was deſign'd? The Council, I think in *June* or *July* laſt, actually appointed a Committee to try them; and ſeveral Advocates were cited to appear before them, and examined concerning the matter: But it ſeems (whether it was for ſhame, or ſome other cauſe, I know not) they thought fit to let it fall; for they have not yet proceeded further: Yet on the other hand, the Weſtern Rabbles were

were never called in Queſtion; on the contrary, they were ſtill encouraged; as you ſhall hear incontinent. And ſo I return to

The Meeting of Eſtates; you know they met on the 14*th* of *March*, and (as I ſaid) to them the troubles of the Clergy were referred: Perhaps for your making a diſtinct judgment of our Affairs, it might be requiſite, that you ſhould have a full and juſt account, how that Meeting was called; how many of the Nobility were abſent from it; what ſcruples the beſt and moſt judicious of the Gentry of the Nation had about it; how thin the Meetings of the ſmaller Barons were in many Shires, when the Commiſſioners were choſen; how induſtrious the Presbyterian Party was to have all Members Elected of their own Gang; what methods were taken with the ſimpler Members, to impoſe upon them; what partiality was uſed in the matter of controverted Elections; what violences were threat'ned to ſome; particularly ſeveral Noblemen, *&c.* and what ſnares were laid for them: Theſe I ſay, and twenty other things might perhaps be neceſſary to be punctually and particularly related to you, before ye can have an exact underſtanding how things went amongſt us. But I have reſolved all alongſt to keep cloſe to the treatment of the Clergy: And never to meddle with the State, but ſo far as they are concerned; and therefore if ye are curious to know theſe things, ye muſt either make your application to ſome other Perſon, or at leaſt wait till another Occaſion.

The firſt thing done by the Meeting, which could comprehend the Clergy was an Act that paſſed on the 16*th* day of *March*; whereby they voted themſelves a full and lawful Meeting of the Eſtates; and that notwithſtanding of any thing that might be contain'd in King *James*'s Letter, which that day was preſented to them, they would continue undiſſolved, until they ſhould ſettle and ſecure, the Proteſtant Religion, the Government, Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom. This Act, when it paſſed gave thoſe of the ejected Miniſters, who were then at *Edinburgh*, occaſion to refreſh themſelves with the hopes, that preſently their Caſe would be conſidered; for they were as good Proteſtants as their Neighbours; and they had Rights and Liberties, aſſerted by Law, and which (by conſequence) ought to have been ſettled and ſecured, as much as the Rights and Liberties of any other Subjects. But alas! theſe hopes laſted not long: For not only was their Caſe never ſo much as mention'd in the Meeting for a good time; but, with no good aſpect to them, upon the 28*th* of *March*, when ſeveral of the Biſhops,

ſhops, many of the Nobility, and not a few of the Barons and Burgeſſes had deſerted the Houſe; the thanks of the Meeting were given to that very ſame Rabble, which had turned out the Miniſters: 'Tis true indeed, the Complement was not made them, under that Reduplication; but I ſay, they were generally the ſame Perſons; and that appearance they made, and for which they were thanked, was as illegal, though not ſo barbarous as the other. But though that was diſheartening enough, it was not the worſt on't: That wounded the poor ſufferers, but indirectly; but the next ſtep was downright for their Ruin.

It was that Famous Proclamation dated *April* 13*th*. and entituled a Proclamation againſt the owning the Late King *James*, and Commanding Publick Prayers to be made for King *William* and *Queen Mary*. Famous, (amongſt many other Reaſons,) for Keeping and Turning out of their Churches and Livings, the Better as well as Greater half of the Clergy within the Kingdom. And therefore let me give you the Hiſtory of it a little more fully.

On the 4*th* of *April*, the Meeting of Eſtates, by their Vote, declared that King *James* had forfeited the Right to the Crown, and the Throne Vacant. On the 11*th* a Proclamation was Publiſhed, declaring *William* and *Mary*, King and Queen of *England*, to be King and Queen of *Scotland*: But all this time, notwithſtanding the Meeting had Sitten very near to a Month, the Rabble were as buſie as ever; and that ſame Week, had fallen on Mr. *Stewart* Miniſter at *Ratho*. He repreſented it, and gave in his Petition for Protection, on the 13*th* day, being Saturday. This gave them occaſion to talk of the Clergy indefinitely, and of the troubles many of them had met with. But what ſhould be done in Relation to them? It was moved, and the motion was entertain'd, that a Proclamation ſhould be ordered, requiring them to diſown King *James*, &c. and promiſing Protection to all that ſhould give dutiful Obedience. But then another Propoſal was made, by his Grace the Duke of *Hamiltoun*, Preſident of the Meeting, *viz.* That thoſe who had been thruſt from their Stations, might be likewiſe comprehended, commanded home to their Reſpective Churches, and promiſed Protection upon their compliance. This was vigorouſly oppoſed by ſeveral of the Members; particularly Sir *James Montgomery* of *Skelmorly*, ſaid, that was downright to take the whole Weſt on their Top; it would diſoblige all the Presbyterians; and might have very fatal conſequences: Therefore the Meeting muſt not look ſo far back; it would be enough if Protection were promiſed

miſed to thoſe who were in the actual poſſeſſion and exerciſe of their Miniſtry, which reaſoning prevailed; ſo it came to a Vote, and carried, that the Proclamation ſhould run ſo, as it was afterwards publiſhed.

However plain the Caſe may appear to be between K. *James* and our preſent King *William* and Queen *Mary*, which was the main Subject of the ſaid Proclamation; yet at this time I ſhall only tell you what effects it produced upon the Clergy. It diſtributed them (as is evident to any who reads it) into two Claſſes: Thoſe who on that 13th. of *April* were (as it words it) *preſently* in the poſſeſſion and exerciſe of their Miniſtry; and theſe who before that day, had been expell'd by the Rabble: To the former it grants a Conditional, to the latter no Protection at all, but entirely excludes them from their Churches and Livings, and the benefit of the Government.

I'll diſpatch what I have to ſay concerning theſe of the latter Claſs firſt, becauſe their Caſe is ſo very ſingular, and will make the diſtincteſt Figure, when all is ſubjected to one view, contracted into one body. I have already given you a taſte of the Violences done them. I have likewiſe taken notice, that you may be apt to impute all that was done, merely to the Mobile, and believe, none of the Heads of the Presbyterian Party were any ways acceſſory to ſuch Barbarities. I have alſo inſinuated ſuch Arguments already, as may convince you that you are in a miſtake, if ye think ſo: Particularly, the pains were taken to run down all Accounts that were ſent to *London*; (to what purpoſe, if theſe Agents were not on the Plot?) The no notice taken of the Prince's Declaration for keeping the Peace; but the Rabble's turning more inſolent after its publication; (unaccountably ſure; if they had not their ſecret Inſtructions from their Correſpondents at Court, to go on vigorouſly, notwithſtanding that Declaration) and the buſineſs of the Colledg of Juſtice. Theſe ſeem to me to be unqueſtionable Proofs, that they were the Heads, the Politicians of the Party, who plotted and encouraged all the Tumults, and the Perſecutions of the Clergy: They were the Projectors, and at the bottom of all, and the Mobile was nothing but the baſe Inſtrument.

If it were needful, I could give you plenty of further Arguments, to make it yet more clear and evident: For (to omit what I have often heard from Perſons of no contemptible Worth nor Intelligence, *viz.* That there were Letters ſent from *London*, which gave

life to the *Iriſh Plot* mentioned before, and firſt ſet the Rabble in motion: And that the Lord *Stair*, now Preſident of the Seſſion, was one Author (as perhaps can be made appear), I could tell you, that I have been aſſured by People of undoubted Credit, that they have heard ſome who were then very active in rabbling the Clergy, confeſs ſince, that the Courſe was unchriſtian and horrid; that they had never attempted it, if they had not been put upon it by Perſons of influence; that they were made to believe, there was no other way to introduce the Presbyterian Government; that they now heartily repented, they had been ſo forward; and if it were to do again, it ſhould never be done. I could tell you further, that even after the 13th. of *April*, the Earl of *Crawford* wrote Letters to the Leaders of Rabbles, encouraging them to perſiſt in their laudable Atchievments; and this ſo very certain, that the Duke of *Hamilton* produced one of them in *June* or *July* laſt, before the Council, and put the Earl to it, and he could not deny it; and that it made a great noiſe, not only at that Table, but through the whole City. And *Monroe* of *Towlis*, one of the Members of Parliament, ſeeing one day a Miniſter in his Gown in the Parliament-Court, pointed at him, crying, *Behold Antichriſt! Will no body tear the Gown from him?* The Miniſter (a pretty bold Fellow) replyed, *But, Sir, you are the Beaſt!* Which made the Spectators laugh; and ſo he eſcaped: For you your ſelf would have ſworn he ſpoke truth, had you ever ſeen the Man. Further yet; to this very day, not one Presbyterian Preacher, has ever been heard condemn theſe Methods from his Pulpit. On the contrary, I could name more than two or three, who actually approved them; commended the Zeal that put People upon them; encouraged them to proceed; and in the new Church of *Edinburgh* (*De Jure*, the Biſhops Cathedral, *De Facto*, now a Presbyterian Meeting Houſe) it ſelf, where now the great concourſe is of all the Nobility and Gentry, who follow the new Guiſes, it was told them in a Sermon, *That ſuch ſhakings as theſe* (it is the very words) *were the ſhakings of God, and without ſuch ſhakings, his Church was not in uſe to be ſetled.* Once more yet; Notwithſtanding Rabbling has been all along in faſhion, and continues to this moment; and many Complaints have been made; yet never hitherto, ſo much as one Proclamation taking notice of it in form, that is, bearing a Narrative to this purpoſe, *Whereas ſuch Violences have been done, &c.* never yet, I ſay, ſo much as one Proclamation of that nature, never ſo much as one Perſon puniſhed for ſuch Violences. On the contrary, the two or three

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West-Country Regiments, who pass under the name of *Cameronians*, seem to have been sent of purpose to quarter in the Shires of *Perth* and *Angus* (Where the People have still been peaceable and affectionate to their Ministers) that they might persecute the Clergy; for, wherever they go they do it, and they are never discharged, nor taken any notice of. You would wonder to hear what a wild Pack these are; I dare not (dreading Prolixity) enter upon a full particular description of them: But I cannot forbear to tell you one Fancy which made me laugh, lately when I was told it: It was, That they will not obey their very Officers, but when they please, especially in point of Exercise, when they are bid do this or that, two days together, they will not do it for any Authority or Perswasion; and when they are challenged for it, they tell, *They are not for set Forms.* This by the way. By these things, methinks, you may see pretty clearly now (tho nothing more could be adduced) who acted the Rabbles: But, in truth, I needed not have been at the pains of collecting these Arguments; for,

By that Proclamation of the 13th. of *April* (to which I now return) all the antecedent Deeds of the Rabble are clearly justified, and fair permission, or rather fresh encouragement is given them to persevere in their course. The Clause is as plain as it is wonderful; these are the very words, *And the Estates do prohibit and discharge any Injury to be offered by any Person whatsoever, to any Ministers of the Gospel, either in Churches or Meeting-Houses* (tho these Meeting-Houses and the Conventicles kept in them, were most directly contrary to Law; and the States by their forementioned Act, dated *March* 16. had declared they would sit till they should secure the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom) *who are presently* (N.B.) *in the possession and exercise of their Ministry therein:* Whereby, all forced from their Churches before that day, were entirely excluded the Protection of the Government.

If you doubt that that was the sense and purpose of the Clause, I have to produce another Proclamation, which will make an excellent Commentary; it is that which is dated *August* 6. 1689. and entituled, *A Proclamation anent the Ministers*; whereof the Narrative runs thus, *Whereas the Estates of the Kingdom did prohibit and discharge any Injury to be offered by any Person whatsoever to any Minister of the Gospel, either in Churches or Meeting-Houses, who were then,* viz. *on the* 13*th. of* April *last in possession and exercise of their Ministry.* And thus in the mandatory part, *Therefore the Lords of their Majesties Privy Council, in their Majesties Name and Authority do strictly com-*

mand and charge, that none of the Leidges take on hand to do any Violence or Injury to any of the Miniſters of the Goſpel, whether they be preaching in Churches or Meeting-Houſes, and that all ſuch as were in poſſeſſion and exerciſe of their Miniſtry, ſince the 13th. of April *laſt, be allowed to continue undiſturbed, and that ſuch Miniſters as have been removed, diſpoſſeſſed, or reſtrained, without a legal Sentence in the exerciſe of their Miniſtry, ſince the 13th. day of* April *laſt, ſhall be allowed to return,* &c. Are you ſatisfied now? But I have yet more to give you.

It is a Paſſage in that Addreſs, ſaid to be ſigned by the greateſt part of the Members of the Parliament of *Scotland*, and deliver'd to his Majeſty at *Hampton-Court*, the 15th. day of *October* 1689. The words are, *It is not unknown to your Majeſty what have been the ſad Confuſions and Diſorders of this diſtreſſed Country under Prelacy, and for want of its ancient Presbyterian Government* (What ſcope for commenting here! if it were my preſent buſineſs?) *And now the whole* Weſt, *and many other Parts of* Scotland, *are at preſent deſolate and deſtitute, having only Miniſters* (it ſeems you own theſe Miniſters to be no Miniſters; otherwiſe, having them, how can the *Weſt*, and theſe other Parts, be ſaid to be deſolate and deſtitute?) *called upon the late* (K. *James*'s) *Liberty, without any Benefice or Living, or convenient place to preach in.* There are a thouſand things here quereable, if a body had inclination to be nice; for example, who knows not that theſe Miniſters were ſo wiſe as to make ſecure Bargains with the People who called them, before they would ſet up their Meeting-Houſes amongſt them? Who knows not that theſe Eight or Nine Months by paſt, they have poſſeſs'd themſelves of all the Churches of the *Weſt*, and lately of many elſewhere too? How then can they be ſaid to want convenient places to preach in? And for what reaſon can the *late Liberty* be mentioned? Was it a ſufficient or a *legal Warrant* for the People to call theſe *Miniſters*, and theſe *Miniſters* to embrace *ſuch Calls*? Or was it not? If it was, there was Law for the *Diſpenſing Power*, by conſequence King *James* is injuriouſly treated; If it was not, how comes that People and *theſe Miniſters* now to be ſo kindly dealt by? Did they not comply with the *Diſpenſing Power*? Did they not what they could, by their complyance, to aſſert it, and give it countenance? For my part, I think, Reaſon would ſay, they deſerved as well as any, to be comprehended in the Third Vote, which that Addreſs mentions: But you may interpret this a Digreſſion; be it ſo: This I'm ſure is home; you ſee the Addreſſers tell their King, that now *The whole Weſt is deſolate and deſtitute.* What

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if he had answered, *How comes it to be so?* Were there not Ministers establish'd there by Law? What is become of them? What (can you imagine) could they return to that, besides one of these two, *viz.* Either again to address his Majesty for restoring and repossessing those who had been thrust out? (an Overture, which I readily believe, got never footing amongst their inclinations) Or to own that they justified what was done to these Ministers? And indeed the Air of their Language, in that passage, imports not only that, but likewise, that they take it for granted, that their King will readily justifie all too; tho I am confident he neither can nor will.

Would you have more yet? As on *Christmas* day, *Anno* 1688. the Rabble first fell upon the Clergy of the *West*, as I have said; so on *Christmas*-Eve, *Anno* 1689. the Council did interpose their Authority, and have discharged all the inferior Judges within the Kingdom to pass Decreets in favors of any Ministers who were not in possession and exercise of their Ministry on the 13th. day of *April*, *Anno* 1689. for the said Years Revenue; adducing for their reason, that often mentioned Act and Proclamation, inferring thence, that no Judicature can determin in the Case, except a Parliament.

Thus, Sir, you may briefly understand the state of those Ministers who were thrust from their Churches by lawless Force and Violence: Poor People! It would extort Compassion from any Breast not altogether Stone, to see what sad Circumstances many of them have been in this good time by-gone; having had little or nothing to maintain themselves with, and (in many instances) their numerous Families, but the Charity and Benevolence of some good Christians: For generally our Scottish Benefices are but small; and the most part of the Western Clergy had got little (till very lately) of their Stipends for the Year 1687. and nothing of the 1688. And by what I have said last, you may guess what they may expect of the Year 1689. Can any History shew a President for their Case? Were ever Christian Ministers so treated in a Christian Kingdom? Will this pass with after-Ages for good Service done to the Protestant Interest? —— But 'tis now time

To pass over to the other Class, consisting of those who escaped the Hands of the Rabble, till that mysterious 13th. day of *April* was over: They had indeed a certain sort of Protection promised them by the Proclamation: But perhaps such an one, as you shall hardly find its like under any Government; tho I have set down the Clause in part already; yet I will repeat it over

over again fully, that you may the better understand it: *And the Estates do prohibit and discharge any Injury to be offered by any Person whatsomever, to any Minister of the Gospel, either in Churches or Meeting Houses, who are presently in possession and exercise of their Ministry therein; they behaving* (N.B.) *themselves as becomes, under the present Government:* That is, if they shall read the Proclamation, and pray for K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, as King and Queen of *Scotland*; let no Violence be done them: But if they shall not (be it upon whatsoever Reasons and Necessities) To your Task Rabble; you shall not be question'd for it: Is it not an excellent Government (think ye) where Rabbles are constituted Judges, and Executors of Laws? Was not that brave protection, at a Juncture, when the great Statesmen and Casuists of both Nations, were making Protection and Allegiance reciprocal? Yet verily Sir, considering the posture of Affairs then, no Man (without doing Violence to his own Sense) could put a better gloss upon it. Nay, what I have said, is the least that can be collected; for in many Mens opinion, these words [*They behaving themselves as becomes, under the present Government*] were designed to comprehend more than Reading and Praying, and were put in of purpose to expose those to the mercy of the Rabble, who (tho they should obey that Proclamation) should at any time thereafter, refuse Obedience to any thing. That a Presbyterian Meeting, Council or Parliament, should enact or determin; certainly the words will go so far easily, and without stretching: 'Tis as certain the Rabble herefrom took new encouragement, and kept up the Persecution as hot as ever; and for my part I can see no other thing like Law for turning out some Ministers afterwards, who had both *Read* and *Prayed*, for not observing the *late Fast:* But of that more anon. Such was the nature of the Protection granted by that Proclamation: I proceed next to as wonderful effects.

It required the Ministers within the City of *Edinburgh*, under the pain of being deprived, and losing their Benefices, to *read it publickly from their Pulpits*, upon *Sunday* next, being the 14th. at the end of their Forenoons Sermon; and the Ministers on this side of the River of *Tay*, upon the 21st. and those be North the said River, on the 28th under the Pains aforesaid.

You see what expedition it required of the Ministers of *Edinburgh:* It was voted and enacted in the meeting on *Saturday* about Twelve of the Clock, it was late before it came from the Press, it came not to their hands till it was much later: Some of them were

were in Bed before they heard of it: ſome received it not till the next morning: ſome (as I am told) never ſaw it till they were in the Pulpit. To be ſure, none of them had time to conſider it throughly, examine the great Matters contained in it, or deliberately ſatisfie their Conſciences about it. The ſeven *Engliſh* Biſhops, the year before, by their example, had taught the World that Miniſters were not to Read Proclamations *fide implicita*, and in a blind Obedience. The preſent *Engliſh* Parliament, had given ſeveral months to the Clergy of that Kingdom to deliberate in, before Sentence was to be paſt againſt them, for not complying with the preſent Revolution. If I am not miſtaken, no Church man in *England* is Deprived to this day; but you know that better than I. Sure I am, this our Proclamation contain'd things of as great Conſequence as that which theſe ſeven Biſhops found ſo choaking, that they rather chooſed to run the greateſt hazards, than enjoyn their Clergy the Reading of it: or as that Law either, upon the account of which ſo many of the *Engliſh* Clergy are now under Suſpenſion: yet the Clergy of *Edinburgh* muſt Read and Pray the very next day, and upon ſo ſhort Advertiſement, or be inſtantly Deprived: nor can the inclinations of the people be pretended for ſo quick diſpatch; for I am told, (and I know it to be certain) that when the Gentleman who Preached that day in the new Church, had refuſed to Read it, and the Clerk (after the Bleſſing pronounced) fell a Reading of it; the whole Congregation (which that day was very frequent) run ſo haſtily out of the Church (ſuch was their indignation) that before he had half done, there was not ſo much as one to hear him. So went matters in that Church.

In other Churches of the City, ſome gave Obedience, and ſome did not. Theſe who did it not met with pretty quick Juſtice, for the very next Week they were Cited to appear before the Committee of Eſtates.

The firſt who appeared, was one Doctor *Strachan*, Profeſſor of Theology in the Univerſity, and one of the Miniſters in the *Trone* Church, an ingenuous Man, and a truely Primitive Chriſtian; he made a Defence for himſelf, which many thought ſo reaſonable then, that I cannot yet forbear to give you an account of it. It was this for ſubſtance, That the Eſtates had found (in their claim of Right) that none can be King or Queen of *Scotland* till they have ſworn the Coronation Oath: for this Reaſon they had Declared that *James*, by aſſuming the Regal Power, and acting as King without ever taking the Oath required by Law, — had forfeited the Right to the Crown:

Crown: That all the Eſtates had yet done, was only to nominate PP. *William* and *Mary*, as the Perſons to whom the Crown ſhould be offered; but they had not yet actually made the Offer; far leſs had PP. *William* and *Mary* accepted of it: it was poſſible they might refuſe it, but though they ſhould not, yet they could not be King and Queen of *Scotland* till they had ſolemnly ſworn the Oath, which was not yet done; therefore he did not ſee how he could Pray for them as King and Queen of *Scotland*; nor how the Eſtates, in reaſon, or in conſequence to their own Principles, could require it of him. I am told the whole Committee was ſilent; perhaps it has been for want of a ready Gift: yet, for all that, (and though he had in Family twelve or thirteen Children) there was no Mercy for him. His Defence (though it could not be anſwered) was not ſuſtained; no further time to deliberate, was granted; but upon his confeſſing he had not Obeyed, he was forthwith Deprived, and made the firſt Sacrifice. Nay, ſome other Miniſters there were, who after they had uſed the ſame Defence, told moreover, they were willing to Pray for them as King and Queen, ſo ſoon as they had taken the Oath; but this availed not neither: they had not obeyed as the States had enjoyned; and ſo they were Sentenced. Thus proceeded that Committee, and in two or three Weeks Deprived betwixt twenty and thirty: and all too before PP. *William* and *Mary* had ſworn the Oath; or (which is all one) before accounts came from *London* that they had done it: for upon their aſſuming the Royal Power (you know) the Execution of the Law belonged to them and their Council, and ſo there was no more place for that Committee.

PP. *William* and *Mary* took the Coronation Oath, at *White-Hall*, the eleventh of *May* 1689. Then they named their Counſellors for this their Ancient Kingdom. They were, for the greater part, perſons who had never ſate at that Table before: they came in upon a new Found; they had New, and untryed Rules to walk by, new Deſigns to carry on: in a word, they had as it were, a ſplit-new Syſteme of Government, to temper and eſtabliſh. Beſides, there were great varieties of Humors at that time in the Nation. Armies were in the Fields, and a Parliament was to Sit: ſo the Council had a vaſt Ocean of Buſineſs before them: and ſo for ſome Weeks, they had not leiſure to fall upon the Clergy; that is, till about the middle of *July*. Till which time leave we them, and return to the Rabble, to ſee what they were doing in the Country.

And indeed they were making clean work wherever they came; I dare ſcarcely ſay, it was all one to them, whether the Miniſters they

they fell on, had complyed or not complyed: for now the Complyers were meeting with the ſharpeſt meaſures. After the Proclamation came out, for a while they remitted ſomething of their eagerneſs: they hoped the Proclamation (conſidering how deeply all who had taken the Teſt, were ſworn, never to diſown King *James* as their Sovereign) would eaſe them of their Labour; but when they found that ſeverals were winning over their Oaths, and giving Obedience to the Eſtates Orders; it gave them new provocation. If ſuch ſhould be ſuffered to poſſeſs their Churches peaceably, and ſecurely, the *Presbyterian* Intereſt ſhould ſtill be at a loſs: a great many, of Epiſcopal Principles, would ſtill be in Office, which afterwards might breed diſturbances: Beſides, if we may believe the Rabblers themſelves, it irritated them to ſee any man give Complyance, upon this Head, that they look'd upon them, as perjur'd, and men of no Conſcience. Whatever the cauſe was, a good many found the effects: ſuch as Mr. *Mac math*, Miniſter at *Laſwade*, (on whom three or four fellows, came one night, as he was going betwixt *Edinburgh*, and his own Houſe, ſtab'd him with Awls and Bodkings, ſo that he had ten or twelve Wounds in his Belly; filled his Mouth, till they had almoſt choaked him, with the dung of Horſes, and then left him in that ſad condition.) Maſter *Burgeſs*, Miniſter at *Temple*, (though he was ſo earneſt to Read and Pray, that when he ſaw the Proclamation was not like to be ſent to him by Authority, againſt the day appointed, he was careful to provide a Copy for himſelf, and Read it very faithfully,) Mr. *Mac Kenzie*, Miniſter at *Kirkliſtoun*, (who had for ſome years been Chaplain to Major General *Maccay*'s Regiment in *Holland*, and was actually with him under the ſame Character at the Battle of *Gillychranky*,) Mr. *Hamiltoun*, Miniſter at *Kirknewtown*, Mr. *Nimmo*, Miniſter at *Colingtown*, Mr. *Donaldſone*, at *Dumbartown*, *&c.* Nay I could inſtance in a whole *Presbytery* in *Galloway*; for upon the News that ſuch a Proclamation was ordered; theſe Brethren met, and conſulted what was to be done; and in brief the Reſolution was, that all ſhould give Obedience, and all truly did it; (as, who could blame them, ſeeing beſides the Authority of the Eſtates, they had the Votes of their own Conſciences for it?) But within a few days not one of them eſcaped Rabbling: they were as indiſcriminately turned out, as they had unanimouſly transferred their Allegiance from King *James*, to King *William* and Queen *Mary*. Twenty more ſuch inſtances might be adduced, if it were needful: but there are three ſo very remarkable, that I cannot paſs them by.

One is, Mr. *Mac Gill*, Miniſter at *Killſyth*, within the *Presbytery*

of *Glaſgow*: all his Neighbour Presbyters had been turned out before; he alone, of that Fraternity, was ſpared till the 13. of *April* was paſt. The good Man loved his Religion; and upon the preciſe day, gave Obedience. But the very next *Sunday* a Rabble Convened to interrupt him. It is true, they were that day repulſed with loſs; for many of the people of the Pariſh appeared for him; and one of the Rabble was killed in the Scuffle. The poor Miniſter (no blood-thirſty Man) had fled for his life to the Earl of *Kilmarnock*'s Houſe, who lived at no great diſtance; and knew not how the Fray was ended: but one Maſter *Maxwell*, the Lord *Kilſyth*'s Factor in theſe Parts, ſeeing the Man was dead, took Journey ſtraight for *Edinburgh*; that he might be the firſt, for acquainting the Lords of the Committee with what had happened. He told them, the Miniſter had given Obedience to the Proclamation; ſo that he had a right to the Protection promiſed in it; that therefore when the Rabble came upon him, a good many people found themſelves obliged to defend him, not only out of reſpect they had for him as their Paſtor; but alſo for their own ſecurity, for if they had not done ſo, they might have been lyable to the Law, which obliges the ſeveral Pariſhes within the Kingdom to protect their Miniſters; otherwiſe to be anſwerable for his Loſſes. He told them likewiſe, that one had loſt his life in the Quarrel.

The Lord *Roſs* was then Preſes of the Committee: when the Gentleman had thus far told the Story, his Lordſhip told him gravely, he wiſhed the Rabble had not been oppoſed; ſuch people cared not what they did; it had been better to have yielded to their humour; he was truely ſorry that blood was ſhed; but in ſuch a Caſe, it would be hard to get the Actor puniſhed. But my Lord (ſaid the Gentleman) he was none of ours, he was of the Rabble who was killed: what do you ſay (replyed his Lordſhip) one of the Rabble! That may draw deeper than you are aware of. This to let you ſee the humour which then prevailed amongſt our Leading Men in the Government; and it brings me in mind of a *Scotch* Proverb I have heard, *viz.* *That* Halkertons *Cow is a very old Beaſt*. But how ended the Matter? The next day, after they had buryed the Man who was killed, the whole Company fell upon Mr. *Mac Gill*'s Houſe, Rifled it, broke and tore all his Furniture to pieces, deſtroyed all his Books and Papers, carried off about 15 or 20 *l. Sterling* of mony, plunged his Hats and Periwigs in the Churn amongſt ſome Milk, and pounded them with the Churn-Staff, emptied all his Meal out of its Repoſitories, and then the Chamber-Box amongſt it; in a word, you have hardly read or heard of ſuch Barbarous tricks as they played:

The

The poor Gentleman ſuſtained of Loſs to the value of 150 *l.* (a good Stock for a *Scotch* Miniſter) and to this day has got neither Reparation nor Protection.

The other two inſtances ſhall be Mr. *Craig*, and Mr. *Buchannan*, both Miniſters within the Presbytery of *Dumbartoun*: I do not adduce them for any thing that was odd, and ſingular, in the treatment they had from the Rabble; for ſo far, they received only the common Meaſure: But to let you ſee how little it avails Men not only to have Complyed but to have done good Services, if they have once owned Epiſcopacy. Theſe two Gentlemen are Barons in *Stirlingſhire*, that is, they hold ſuch Lands of the King in Capite, as gives them the priviledge of Voting at the Chooſing Commiſſioners for Parliament, or being ſuch themſelves; if they ſhould be Choſen. Now, when the Members were a chooſing for the late Meeting of Eſtates: the Gentlemen of that Shire of *Stirling* were almoſt equally divided about the perſons to be Elected for their Repreſentatives. Four were Liſted, two downright Malignants, Cavaliers, who would have been clear for King *James* his Intereſt; and two who were as clear for that of the Prince of *Orange*: When it came to be determined, the Votes ran equal, till it came to the two Laird-Miniſters who were laſt, ſo they had the caſting of the Ballance, and both did it in favours of the new States-men: what could they have done more for the Prince of *Orange*? Their Votes made (and by conſequence were equivalent to, two Votes of) two Members of the Meeting for him; beſides (not being turn'd out before the 13. of *April,*) they did all Duty, Read and Prayed, *&c.* Yet now that they are Rabbled, no more Protection for them, than for the Rotteneſt *Jacobite* in the Kingdom. Theſe are the advantages of Complyance amongſt us; not one of all thoſe whom I have named (and as I ſaid, it were eaſie to name as many more) has Protection to this day, none of them dares venture to their Churches, few or none to their Houſes.

By this you may ſee what were the circumſtances of the Clergy, during the interval between the Conventions being Changed into a Parliament, and the middle of *July*, to which I now return.

What was the Cauſe which made the Council intermit ſo long the Deprivation of the Non-Complying Miniſters, I am neither able nor careful to know: but it ſeems ſuch delays were extremely unpleaſant to the Presbyterian Preachers: wherefore they thought it convenient to give them the Spur to purpoſe. The Parliament was then Sitting; ſo they gave in a long Addreſs to it: wherein, having thanked God for the great Deliverance wrought by his Inſtrument,

the Pious and Magnanimous *William*, then Prince of *Orange*, now, by the good hand of God, their Gracious Sovereign; Complemented the Commiſſioner, and the reſt of the Lords of Parliament; and miſcalled Epiſcopacy, and Biſhops, and all that own them, as very ill things; they come to their demands, where appears in the Van, the freeing this poor Oppreſſed Church from ſuch Oppreſſors and Oppreſſions.

There are many other things in it worthy of your notice, particularly their Petitioning that the Church Government may be Eſtabliſhed in the hands of ſuch only who by their former Carriage, and Sufferings, have evidenced that they are known Sound Presbyterians — (This is nothing like Prelacy) and, their requeſting that the Church thus Eſtabliſhed may be allowed by their Lordſhips Civil Sanction, to appoint Viſitations for purging out Inſufficient, Negligent, Scandalous, and Erroneous Miniſters, (and what Apoſtle, if ye give him a Prebyterian Jury, ſhall not come within the comprehenſion of one of theſe four?) This Addreſs, I ſay, was given in to the Parliament: and what wonder though the Council was awakened by it?

And, indeed, immediately, they fell to work, the Inquiſition revived, and Summons were iſſued out, at the Kings Advocates inſtance, againſt a good many; but before I come to their ſucceſs, there is one thing I muſt not forget to tell you.

Every Man knows, and the commoneſt Equity requires, that publick Edicts or Proclamations, (eſpecially when they are peremptory in their Diets, and poſitive in their Sanctions) ought to be very carefully and Authentically tranſmitted to thoſe they do oblige. Yet never leſs care taken ſince the World began, of the juſt and regular Conveyance of any thing, than there was of that Proclamation to the Miniſters: there were hundreds of Miniſters to whoſe hands it came not till the days prefixed were expired: particularly in the Shire of *Fife*, there are betwixt ſeventy and eighty Pariſhes; yet I am credibly told, only ſix Copies came to the Sheriff Clerks hand, who was ordered to diſtribute them: and there was no ſuch Clauſe in the Proclamation, as allowed, far leſs required them to obey it any *Sunday* thereafter: for what I remark this, you will know inſtantly.

Summonds were iſſued out, as I have ſaid, and the Council (that they might ſhew a ſuitable zeal, and be every whit as forward as the party would have them, or as 'tis poſſible for the Eccleſiaſtical Viſitations themſelves to be, ſit when they will) proceeded as ſummarily as could be deſired. The perſon cited heard a long Libel read,

read, concerning the Irreligion, the Ingratitude, the Contempt, *&c.* of his Diſobedience. After that, the Preſident of the Council asked him, if he had read the Proclamation upon the day prefixed, and if he had ever ſince prayed publickly for King *William*, and Queen *Mary*: (it was added ſometimes by Name and Surname, when the Earl of *Crawford* was Preſident) as King and Queen of *Scotland*? if he anſwered [No] to both; no Mercy for him. But I muſt be a little more particular on this Head.

Be pleaſed to know then that there was one Clauſe which in thirty or forty Libels, was never omitted. This, word for word: *Whereas the Miniſters, by a Proclamation dated the thirteenth of* April, *were commanded and required to read the ſame upon the reſpective days therein contained, and pray* —— Yet when the ſaid Proclamation of the Eſtates was ſent to him (the perſon accuſed) at leaſt came to his hands, or of which he had knowledge (mark the Gradation, and the Equity of the ſeveral ſteps, eſpecially the laſt) he was ſo far from teſtifying his Gratitude, and giving due Obedience thereunto, that, *&c.* And who could ſtand before ſuch an Indictment? And indeed few were able. For

If the Miniſter pleaded, That the Proclamation had never come to his hands, and was ready to ſwear it (as many might have done with a good Conſcience) it profited him nothing; he was guilty, by the third ſtep of the Gradation, juſt now taken notice of. And it was all one, whether he had prayed for King *William* and Queen *Mary*, or not, if he had not read: *e. g.* Mr. *Guild*, Miniſter at *North Berwick*, told the Council, he had prayed for them from the very firſt day he had heard they were proclaimed King and Queen, and none in the Kingdom was more joyful than he, that a Proteſtant King and Queen were ſet on the Throne, (I have half a dozen more of inſtances of the ſame nature) yet he was deprived.

If he had both read and prayed, yet if it was not done on the preciſe days, there was no eſcaping. So it fared with Mr. *Hay*, Miniſter at *Kinſongahair*, *Hunter* at *Stirling*, *Young* at *Mony-vaird*, and many others, eſpecially Mr. *Aird*, Miniſter at *Tory-burn*, (an old, grave, ſerious man) who, tho he brought a Certificate from the Sheriff of the Shire where he lived, bearing, that he had read the Proclamation on the Sunday immediately after he received it, was yet deprived without remedy.

One thing was remarked all alongſt, *viz.* That the Queſtion was never put whether they would give Obedience thereafter. No, there was no place for Repentance. And I remember to have heard

heard, that ſome of the Magiſtrates of the Town of *Perth*, aliàs *S. Johns-Town*) after both their Miniſters were deprived, came to the Earl of *Crawford*, and inſinuated to him, that they were hopeful. One Mr. *Anderſon* (a good natured man, and a very good Paſtor, and who had been one of the Miniſters of the ſaid Town) perhaps might be induced to comply yet; and that he would be extremely acceptable to the People, if he were reponed, *&c.* But preſently his Lordſhip turned huffy; and told them, that was not ſo much as once to be mentioned. So they were forced to let fall their deſign. Indeed his Lordſhip is a moſt zealous Reformer, and as fit for being Preſident at a Board, for turning out Epiſcopal Clergy-Men, as could have been fallen upon. I remember a certain Miniſter who had been a good time of his Lordſhips Acquaintance, went to him, thinking to have prevailed with him, to have got the Diet deſerted; and they had a very pleaſant Converſation. His Lordſhip asked whether he uſed publickly to pray for King *William*, and Queen *Mary*. He anſwered, he prayed as the Apoſtle directed; and cited 1 *Tim.* 2. 1,2. *Well* (ſays my Lord) *that's enough for us to deprive you.* After ſome more Diſcourſe, the Miniſter ſaid, he was *ſorry for the Deſolations of the Church.* And his Lordſhip anſwered very quaintly: *But ſo am not I.* The Work had never gone on ſo ſucceſsfully, if he had not been on the top of it. For many times they had enough to do to get a Quorum of the Council (which can conſiſt of no leſs than nine) on theſe days that were ſet apart for the Clergy: (in effect, it was no wonder tho ordinary Stomachs had ſome kind of loathing to it) and then his Lordſhip was in a ſtrange pickle, and you would have ſeen ſtrange running of Macers through the City, calling them from their Lodgings. But let me return to my Thread again.

Within a few days, the Council found it would make tedious work to have them all cited at the Advocates Inſtance, therefore they took a ſhorter method; it was the inviting and allowing the Pariſhioners and Hearers of ſuch Miniſters as had not obeyed, to cite them before the Council. This is the great purpoſe of that Proclamation dated *Auguſt* 16. mentioned before. The Clauſe is this: *As alſo that ſuch Miniſters who have not read the Proclamation, and prayed — may be deprived of their Benefices. ——— The Lords of his Majeſties Privy Council do invite and allow the Pariſhioners and Hearers of ſuch Miniſters ——— to cite them before the Privy Council,* &c.

This Proclamation ſerved two purpoſes; firſt it made quicker diſpatch, and then, by it, opportunity was given to every malicious perſon to frame what Libels they pleaſed againſt their Miniſters.

Both

Both ends were ſerved pretty ſucceſsfully; Deprivations were more expedite, and more numerous than they had been before; and many Crimes and Scandals were libelled againſt ſeveral Miniſters. 'Tis true, the Council never examined Witneſſes, nor ſuſtain'd themſelves Judges concerning any thing but what was contained in the Grand Proclamation, *viz. Reading and Praying.* And they frequently declared, (when the perſons calumniate, craved, that theſe Scandals and Immoralities might either be tryed, or put out of the Libel) that they were not to inſiſt againſt them on theſe Heads: yet the Libels with theſe things in them ſtand ſtill on Record; and I hear full Accounts of them are ſent to *London*, and daily Printed there, and making good company in the Coffee-Houſes. No body ever doubted but there was ſomething inſidious and baſe in the Deſign. Who knows but the Eccleſiaſtical Viſitations, when they ſit, will ſuſtain all theſe Libels as ſufficiently proven already, ſeeing they were before the Privy Council, and Sentence followed upon them? And God knows what other Fruits the keeping of them may produce! But certainly it had looked much liker to fair dealing, it had been more generous, and worthy of Gentlemen, if the Council, (ſeeing they were not to dip in theſe matters) had diſcharged them to be libelled, and ſuffered no more to be brought before them, than what they were to try and judge of.

One would think, now the Courſe was quick enough againſt the Clergy; yet within ſome other few days, it was found not to be expedite enough neither. In many Pariſhes there were none who would purſue their Miniſters; and beſides, it was ſomewhat expenſive for the Lieges to raiſe Summons before the Council: wherefore

A further ſtep was made, a third Proclamation was ordered, intituled, *For citing Miniſters, who have not prayed for their Majeſties,* and Dated *Auguſt* 22: whereby (that with the greater expedition, and the leaſt expence to the Lieges, the former Proclamations might attain their intended Deſign and Effect) Invitation and Allowance were again given, not only to the Pariſhioners and Hearers of the diſobedient Miniſters, but alſo to the Heretors of theſe Pariſhes (tho living at never ſo great diſtance) and the Sheriffs and their Deputes, and Magiſtrates of Burghs, and the Members of the Current Parliament within their reſpective Bounds, to cauſe cite ſuch Miniſters before the Council, and Warrand was granted to Meſſengers at Arms, for citing them, and ſuch Witneſſes as were neceſſary; and that the Expedition might be greater yet, a Meſſenger's delivering

livering a Copy of this Proclamation, either in Print or Writ, ſigned by his Hand, to each Miniſter that ſhould be cited by him to any Tueſday or Thurſday, (theſe two days of every Week were ſet apart intirely for that purpoſe) ſix days after the citation, for all on this ſide the River *Tay*, and fourteen days for all beyond the ſaid River, *&c.* And further it was declared, that the ſaid Proclamation was without prejudice of any Citations already given, or to be given, either upon the former Act of Council, or upon Warrands from the Council-Board. Have ye not enough of expedition now in all Conſcience? Yet to make all ſurer ſtill; and becauſe they were finding, that ſeverals had complyed, whom they were willing to have turned out, but had no ſhadow of Law to do it by!

At the inſtigation of the Presbyterian Miniſters, Elders and Profeſſors (as it ſelf words it) upon the twenty fourth of *Auguſt*, forth comes another Proclamation for a general Faſt, to be kept on two Lord's Days, *viz.* on this ſide the *Tay*, *Sept.* 15. on the other ſide, *Sept.*22. No queſtion it was deſigned for a choaking morſel; for perhaps you never ſaw any thing like it. That it required Chriſtians to faſt on the Lord's Day, (tho that was harſh enough, no ways fitted for a tender Stomach, and would have gone very ill down with *Tertullian* himſelf, as much as he was for Faſting) was the thing leaſt nauſeous about it, except the bad Grammar, and the good Stock of great Nonſenſe that was in it. For in effect (beſides what was relative to the preſent State of Affairs) it not only unminiſtered, but even unchriſtened, the whole Regular Clergy, and theſe who owned them; and expreſly bore, that God for a long time (ſince the Reſtitution of Epiſcopacy, no doubt) had reſtrained the preſence of his Spirit, in the Converſion of Souls, *&c.* And this Proclamation was to be read twice, and the Faſt to be kept once, in every Church and Meeting-Houſe within the Kingdom. Now to the ſucceſs.

What wonder tho theſe Twin-Proclamations (for ſo I may call them, conſidering how ſhort the interval was between their Dates) wrought ſtrange feats amongſt the poor Clergy? as indeed they did. For many who (with hard Gripings) had got the Proclamation of the thirteenth of *April* digeſted, could not yet get that for the Faſt, forced over their Throats, particularly I could name two of the Miniſters of *Edenburg*, who the very next Week were deprived for it. And the other Proclamation was pretty good at citing thoſe who had refuſed to give Obedience, as you may gueſs by its Nature. Yet I muſt confeſs it has not done all the ſkaith it might;

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as you ſhall hear anon; Although it wrought wonders, of a right ſtrange Addreſs. For by virtue of it, when ſome Miniſters, for North, in *Murray*, or *Banf*, or ſomewhere thereabout, were Cited, and Compeared; but were like to find the Diet deferred, becauſe no Accuſer appeared againſt them: By virtue of it (I ſay) upon that occaſion, the Laird of *Brody*, one of the Privy Council, being a Member of the Current Parliament, repreſenting that Shire where theſe Miniſters liv'd, came to the Bar where they were ſtanding, and ſmil'd, and told them, he would be their Accuſer, and was as good as his word; and then ſtept into his Seat at the Table again, and Voted for their Deprivation. And ſo I come to the end of my Hiſtory, when I have told you that thus it ſtands with the *Scottiſh* Clergy at preſent.

All our Biſhops are turn'd out, and their Order aboliſhed by Act of Parliament, dated *July* 5. their whole Benefices for the year 1689. are taken from them by publick Proclamation. The Number of Presbyters within the Kingdom, may be about 900 and 40 or 50, or ſo, of theſe about 300 are turn'd out by Tumult and Rabble; and their Expulſion is (as to the moſt part) juſtified and (as to the reſt) conniv'd at by the Government: About 200 are deprived by ſentence of the Privy Council. Thoſe who continue in their Stations (being the leſſer half) may be ſubdivided into two Categories. A great many have giv'n no Obedience yet, and have eſcap'd, by the diſtance they live at, from *Edinburgh* and Fanaticiſm; or becauſe no body has delated them; what may be ſuch Mens Fate (if the preſent Methods continue) is eaſie to imagine. The reſt have complyed; but how far that may ſecure them, God only knows; but (if I may give my Conjecture) I think I may tell them: They have not done the half of what will be neceſſary to ſave them; and I think I have plauſible grounds to ſay this on. For not only can I give them a certain Miniſter by the hand, to whom a certain Nobleman (a Privy Counſellor, who makes a conſiderable Figure at preſent, and who is Presbyterian enough too; though it ſeems he has more than the ordinary ingenuity of the Party) ſaid, he was truly glad, that Miniſter had made no compliances (they were Couſins; perhaps that made him ſpeak more freely) and aſſur'd him, the preſent compliance would ſave no Man; for the reſolution was, that none of the Epiſcopal Clergy ſhould be ſpared. This I know to be of certain truth: Beſides, the Council lately were beginning to look ſo much out: For when ſome Miniſters in *Argyleſhire* (who Preach-

in *Irish*, by consequence, whose places cannot be so easily supplyed, whom therefore they were not earnest to lay aside for altogether) were before them; though they made them the gracious offer, made to few or none before, that they should be continued in their Ministry, upon their yet obeying the Proclamation, yet they would not allow them their own Churches: The secret of the matter is, all must be once out, none must enjoy their Benefices, by virtue of a Presentation from a Patron, and a Collation from a Bishop; if any shall be permitted hereafter to bear Office; they must come in upon the new found, that is to be erected after the Presbyterian Model. This I am told the Statesmen are clear for: But then the Kirk-men must have their terms too, and what they may be, I am not he who can divine. Presbytery, Presbytery in Folio must be one; perhaps the Covenant may be another: And God knows what purgative Doses, those who have ever liv'd under Episcopacy must take, before they can be admitted into such a pure Society: I doubt it would puzzle Mr. *Salathiel Stiff-collar* himself, your famous *English* Mountebank, to tell beforehand what the *Recipe* may be; This is certain,

No compliances any of the Conform'd Clergy have yet made, have brought them so much as one inch nearer to a Reconciliation with the Presbyterians: Some have been at work enough to get their Countenance; particularly Doctor *Robinson*, and Mr. *Malcome*, two of the Ministers of *Edinburgh*: They have Preach'd once and again, against the Pride of Prelates, and the Corruptions of the Church, &c. (especially the Doctor, whose great complaint it has been of late, that he has groan'd these twenty seven years by-past under the Yoke of Episcopacy; although at the Restitution of the Government, he did not think his Mission good, having had only Presbyterial Ordination; and therefore was Reordained by a Bishop.) They have been once and again to the Presbyterian Clubs, in treating they might be admitted into their Fellowship, and to sit in their Presbyteries: And they have used all Arts for gaining belief, that they are in earnest: for instance, they are both Prebendaries of the Cathedral of *Edinburgh*, and the Bishop pays to each of them ten pound Sterl. per annum: Through the long surcease of Justice that has been in the Kingdom, till of late; his Lordship had got none of the Revenue for the year 88, and wanted not reason to doubt if ever he should have it; so their Fees for those years were resting: Wherefore in *August* or *September* last, they pursued him jointly, before the Bailiffs of *Edinburgh*, (no competent

tent Judges) merely to caſt dirt upon him, that thereby they might ingratiate themſelves with the Godly: Yet all has not prevail'd, they find the Party inexorable. By what is ſaid, methinks you may now make a tolerable judgment of the treatment the *Scottiſh* Clergy have met with hitherto, or are like to meet with hereafter.

One thing remains yet to be done, *viz.* to ſay ſomthing in Vindication of theſe Epiſcopal Clergy-men, who have been ſo treated, and to account ſome way for their Lives and Abilities: I know there are ſtrange things talk'd of them in *England*; for beſides that the Prince of *Orange* laſt year, declared them generally ſcandalous and ignorant (as was noted before) the good Party have long had, and ſtill have their inſtruments buſie, Printing and Publiſhing odd ſtories of them. So that perhaps Sir, you may be as earneſt to underſtand what can be ſaid on that Head, as any thing I have yet diſpatched: But I might with good reaſon diſappoint you, and make that the ſhorteſt part of my task; indeed two or three Sentences might ſerve: For

It might be ſufficient to ſay, that general Indictments ought ſtill to go for Calumnies, and the proper defence is to tell, they are broad Lies. Let their Enemies condeſcend upon the particular Perſons, and the particular Crimes; that's the way to find guilt; and whoever believes there is any, till that is done, is near of Kin to an unjuſt Judge. Dare they for their hearts pronounce all ignorant? or all ſcandalous? or all negligent? or all erroneous? or all of a perſecuting temper? If they dare, I hope they are bound to make it good, againſt every Individual; and let them try that when they will. If they dare not (as certainly they dare not; even *Machivel* himſelf, their Maſter for that Politick, were he alive durſt not) then, who ſees not the Iniquity of theſe indefinite aſperſions? where were Chriſtians taught to mix the Innocent with the Guilty, ſo indiſcriminately? This, Sir, methinks might paſs for ſufficient Antidote againſt all theſe bold Slanders; but leſt it may not ſatisfie you, I have more to ſay, and God be thanked, I can ſay it confidently, becauſe I know it to be true: I can ſay,

The Church of *Scotland*, ſince the Reformation, was never generally ſo well provided with Paſtors; as at the beginning of the preſent Perſecution: 'Tis true, ſhe has ſometimes had ſome Sons; (ſuch as Doctor *Forbes*, Doctor *Baron*, *&c.*) more Eminent for Learning, than perhaps any of the preſent Generation will pretend to: But what Church is there in the World, wherein every day, extraordinary Lights are to be found? It cannot be denyed nei-

ther, that there are amongſt us ſome of but ordinary Parts; but in what Church was it ever otherwiſe? it would be an odd thing, if the poor cold Climate of *Scotland* could ſtill afford a thouſand *Auguſtines* or *Aquinas's*; perhaps too there may be ſome, who are not ſo careful to adorn their Sacred Office with a ſuitable Converſation, as they ought to be: But what wonder, when Our Saviour himſelf had one, a Devil, of twelve in his Retinue? what Country is it where all the Clergy-men are Saints? And therefore, I ſay it over again; the Church of *Scotland* was never ſo well planted, generally, ſince the Reformation as it was a year ago. This is a Propoſition which I confeſs cannot be demonſtrated ſo, by a private Man, ſitting in his Chamber, as to convince the obſtinate, or give full ſatisfaction to Strangers. But ſo far as things of that nature can be made appear plauſible, and at a diſtance; I think this may be done very briefly, in anſwering the Charges commonly given in againſt them.

The firſt is Ignorance; but what's the Standard to judge by, whether Men have ſuch a competency of knowledge, as may (*cæteris paribus*) qualifie them for the Miniſtery? till that be condeſcended on, I might very well bid them put up their Objection in their Pocket, till they can make palpable ſenſe of it; at leaſt, till that be done, this pretended Ignorance cannot be ſuſtain'd, as a ſufficient Argument for juſtifying the preſent Perſecution. But how can the *Scotiſh* Clergy be ſo very ignorant? No Man (ſince I remember) was ever admitted to the Miniſtery, till he had firſt paſs'd his courſe at ſome Univerſity, and Commenc'd Maſter of Arts: And generally none are admitted to tryal for being Probationers, till after that Commencement, they have been four or five years Students in Divinity. The Method of that Tryal is commonly this, the Candidate gets firſt a Text preſcrib'd him, on which he makes a Homily before ſome Presbytery: Then he has an Exegeſis in Latin, on ſome common Head, (ordinarily ſome Popiſh Controverſie) and ſuſtains diſputes upon it. After this he is tryed as to his skill in the Languages and Chronology: He is likewiſe obliged to Anſwer (*ex tempore*) any Queſtion in Divinity, that ſhall be propoſed to him, by any Member of the Presbytery. This is called the Queſtionary tryal; then, he has that which we call the Exerciſe and Addition; that is, (as it is in moſt Presbyteries) one day, he muſt Analize and Comment upon a Text, for half an hour or ſo, to ſhew his skill in Textual, Critical, and Caſuiſtick Theology; and another day for another half hour, he diſcourſes

again

again by drawing practical Inferences, &c. to shew his Abilities that way too: And then lastly, he must make a popular Sermon; (I believe you have scarcely so severe tryals in *England*) all this done, the Presbytery considers whether it be fit to recommend him to the Bishop, for a Licence to Preach (and many have I known remitted to their Studies) if they find him qualifyed, and recommend him, he gets his Licence, he Commences Probationer for the Ministery, and commonly continues such for two, three, four, or more years thereafter, till he is presented to some Benefice: Then he passes over again through all the foresaid steps of tryal, and more accurately, before he is Ordained: What greater Scrutiny would you desire, as to point of Knowledge? But besides that, I have somthing more to tell you; it is,

That generally, since the Restitution of Episcopacy, our Divines have had better Education, &c. been put on better Methods of Study, than ever they were before. They have learned to lay aside prejudices, and trace truth ingenuously, and embrace it where they find it. With our Predecessors, especially in the times of Presbytery: The *Dutch* Divinity was only in Vogue: Their Common-place-men were the great Standards, and are so still to that Party, and whoever stept aside one hairs breadth from their Positions, was forthwith an Heretick. But the present Generation, after the way of *England*, take the Scriptures for their Rule; and the Ancients, and right Reason for Guides, for finding the Genuine Sense of that Rule; by which Method in my opinion, they are come to have their Principles and Thoughts far better digested. For Evidence of this, be pleased to know Sir, that upon the Restitution of Episcopacy *Anno* 1662. There were Six Hundred Good, who kept their Stations and Conformed. These were not only generally of Presbyterian Education, but likewise for the most part, the ablest Men who were then in Office: There are many of these Men yet alive. Now, if this experiment were made, if these Men who had that Presbyterian Education, were examined upon their Skill and Principles in Divinity; and if again, those who have had the posterior Education were likewise tryed, I could lay an even wager, if I were much provok'd, I would venture three to one, all ingenuous and impartial Judges, should determine in favours of the latter Sort, and confess that they have clearer and more distinct Idea's of things, and understand the Christian Philosophy better. In a word, I'll affirm it confidently, that Philosophy was never understood better, nor never Preached better in *Scotland*, than it has been these twenty years by-gone.

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I must confess, it was never less practised: but for that we may thank the Presbyterians: Do not think this a Slander; for if they (during their twenty four years Usurpation, *i.e.* from Thirty eight till Sixty two inclusive) had not made many things, such as Rebellion and Presbytery *jure Divino*; if they had not baffled Peoples credulity, by making all the extravagances of the late times, God's own work, and the Cause of Christ, *&c.* And if they had not made it their chief work ever since; to create and cherish Divisions and Schisms among us, and keep up a Party for themselves, by all means possible: I doubt not, the Gospel (with God's Blessing) would have had more desirable success, than it has had in this Kingdom. What a pernicious thing is it, needlessly to break the Unity, and disturb the Peace of a Church! I have often thought on that saying of *Irenæus Lib. 4. adver. Hæres. Cap. 62. Nulla ab iis (schismaticis) tanta fieri potest correptio, quanta est Schismatis pernicies*; and the more I think on it, I find still the more of important truth in it: And believe it Sir, if ever there was a Sect, since Christ came into the World, to whom that Fathers words in that same Chapter, were applicable, they are, (only one thing excepted) to our *Scotch* Presbyterians. *Suam utilitatem potius considerantes, quam Unitatem Ecclesiæ; propter modicas & quaslibet Causas, magnum & glorioſum Corpus Christi, conscindunt & dividunt, & quantum in ipsis est interficiunt; pacem loquentes* (here it only fails) *& bellum operantes; vere liquantes Culicem, & Camelum transglutientes.* By their Divisions, they have still kept up such Rancours and Animosities amongst us; that the Meek, Calm, Gentle, Peaceable Spirit of Christianity, could get no footing. And how can the Religion flourish without that? And by their bold entituling all their unaccountable freaks, in the late times (as I said) to God's Authority, and abusing his Holy Word to justifie them; they lost all the credit of the Ministery. For so soon as Peoples eyes opened, and they began to see what *Legerdemain* had been play'd in the Pulpits; especially under such high pretensions to Godliness, they look'd upon the Sacred Office of the Ministery (and continue to do so ever since) as a mere Imposture; so that though we are at never so much pains to perswade and convince; yet our Labours are not regarded, and if they be not that, how can they be successful? I know you'll think this a Digression. Be it so, I could not help it, I have such strong impressions of the truth of the thing, that I could not forbear to tell it you.

What I have said methinks, may pass for a good enough account of

of the Abilities of the Conform'd Clergy: Yet I have one thing more to add, I will not Recriminate, nor go to tell our Presbyterian Brethren back again, that of all Men alive they ought to have been the laſt, for charging us with Ignorance. But this I will undertake for; let them out of their whole Number within the Kingdom, chuſe five, ſix, ſeven; or what Number they pleaſe, and the Epiſcopal Clergy ſhall be content that even out of the Dioceſs of *Glaſgow*, (that Dioceſs which ſo much pains has been taken to make infamous for its Ignorance) the like number be choſen, for debating all the points in Controverſie between us, before any ſufficient and impartial Judge in Chriſtendom: And is not this enough *ad hominem*? But I have dwelt too long upon this firſt charge; and muſt make amends in what follows.

The ſecond thing is Immorality, we are generally ſcandalous as well as ignorant: But I doubt, if amongſt all the Epiſcopal Clergy in *Scotland*, they ſhall find a match for their own Mr. *Williamſon*: Let them ſhew me a Man that played ſuch tricks while a Miniſter, and was ſo little challeng'd, as he is, by his Brethren. Not to mention how (for all his lewdneſs) he is now a leading Man of the Party, and was lately one of their Commiſſioners at *London*. Indeed, Sir, what greater pains can be taken either to keep or to purge out ſcandalous Men from being of the Clergy, than our Conſtitution preſcribes? after any Man is preſented to a Benefice, before he is either Collated, or put in Orders; an Edict is read publickly, before the whole Congregation, in the Church where he is to be ſettled; requiring and inviting the Heretors, or any within the Pariſh, who have any thing to object againſt his Life, to do it on ſuch a day, before the Biſhop, or ſome deputed by him; and if any blemiſh be found that way, he is rejected: And for thoſe who are once in the Miniſtery; I believe there is hardly a ſharper Diſcipline any where, than in *Scotland*. The leaſt Crime proven againſt any has its puniſhment: *e. g.* One Act of Drunkenneſs clearly made out, will ſuſpend him; and two (though ſome years intervene betwixt them) are ſufficient to Depoſe him, and Deprive him for ever.

But I need not dwell on theſe things: Your Biſhop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Burnet*, if he pleaſes, can tell the World (I'm ſure he has told it in many things as unſeaſonably) that when Dr. *Leighton* was Commendator of *Glaſgow*, and he himſelf Profeſſor of Divinity there; the Clamour about the Ignorance and Immoralities of the Clergy of that Dioceſs was ſuch, that the ſaid Commendator turn'd very earneſt to have it purged: That for this end, he allowed and invited all

People:

People to accuse their Pastors, and give in what Indictments they pleas'd against them; that this was not done scrimply neither, nor out of mere form; but if there was any partiality, it was against the Minister: And yet after all that how many were found worthy of Deposition? only one (as I am told) of some hundreds; and he too, not without great suspicions of Injustice. Dr. *Burnet*, I say, can tell all this if he pleases; for no Man was deeper in that Inquisition then himself, being one of the Commendators chief Counsellors and Instruments. And after all, when both had done what they could, they were forced to confess, the Clergy were injur'd, and it was nothing but the Spirit of Fanaticism, which made the People so unkind to them, and raise such calumnies against them. Indeed it would have been hard enough for the greatest confidence, not to have acknowledg'd so much; for if he pleases, he can likewise tell, what pains were taken, to bring the best Men, and best Preachers from all Corners to the West; to try how the People would be pleased with them, such as Mr. *Nairn*, Mr. *Aird*, &c. And how he himself went about as an Evangelist, shewing his gifts every where; particularly in the Church of *Fennick*; where he distributed a great many Bibles, and some money too, being earnest by all means to gain the People: And yet for all that he and all the other Evangelists were laught at; and the People told that if they must needs have Curates, they would not change their own, for any of them. This work was fifteen or sixteen years ago; and such was the condition of that Dioceses then: And yet though the Clergy in it, had deserved the Epithets of Scandalous and Ignorant then, by what consequence can they be applicable to them now, when perhaps the third man is not there now, who was there then? But to go on.

The third thing is Negligence; but how can that be either? Theer's no such thing as Non-residence, or Pluralities in use in *Scotland*: Every *Presbyter* is censurable, who is two Sundays together from his Church, without Licence from his Ordinary; and generally we Preach twice every Lords day, through the whole Kingdom. But negligence is like Ignorance; it will be hard to find that definition of Negligence, which will be able to justifie such a general Persecution, as I have already accounted for.

The fourth is Error: But how shall that be tryed? But I think, I can easily give you satisfaction, Sir, as to that matter; it is by telling you, that I know not so much as one amongst us, who could not live in Communion with your Church of *England*, and subscribe her thirty-nine Articles. 'Tis true indeed, there be many, who are no ways

ways inclined to be every day talking to their People of God's Decrees, and Absolute Reprobation, and Justification by Faith alone in the Presbyterian sense, and such like Doctrins; they think their Hearers may be much more edifyed by Sermons, that explain the true Nature of Evangelical Faith, the Necessity of Repentance, and the Indispensibility of a Gospel-Obedience, *&c.* And what error is there here?

But the last thing is that we have been great Persecutors; grant it to be true, sure I am, by this time we are payed home pretty well in our own Coin; and God of his infinite Mercy grant unto us all, that we may exercise a true Christian patience, under our present Sufferings: And that they may work a better temper in us, than it seems their pretended Persecutions have wrought in our Adversaries. Sure I am, 'tis no where written in the Gospel, that suffering for Christ may laudably end in Malice and Revenge, and the horridest Barbarities. But how can it be proven, that we were such Persecutors? Dare any man say, that the severities against the Presbyterians, since the Restitution of Episcopacy, have been near so great, as the severities against the Episcopal Party were, during the Reign of Presbytery? Dare any man say, that the Presbyterians have suffered any thing for Conscience sake, these twenty seven years by-past? Remember what I told you, not far from the beginning of this Letter. 'Tis true indeed, the State found there were a number of People of such seditious and ungovernable tempers, that they could not be well kept from breaking out daily into open Rebellions: Therefore they made Laws for keeping them low, and curbing them; and who can blame this? 'Tis also true, some of these Laws obliged the Clergy to give an account of those of that temper, who lived or haunted in their Parishes: And could they top with the Government and disobey Law, when the Obedience required, was so reasonable? Besides, believe it Sir, the Clergy did as little that way, as was possible for them; and I can make it good, when ever I am put to it: That where one was pursued upon their Informations, twenty were befriended by their Intercessions: A signal instance whereof I learn'd not long ago; it was in *September* last, when the Deprivations for Non-compliance were very frequent. Amongst the rest one Mr. *Chisholm* Minister at *Lilsly*, was cited at the instance of one Sir *John Riddel* of the Minister had given no Obedience, and so was very soon discuss'd: And when Sir *John* and he were just a coming from the Bar; where he had stood his Accuser, and heard his Sentence; he told him, before a good many Witnesses, that he

confeſs'd he held his Life and Fortune of him; and proteſted he would never have treated him ſo as he had done, if it had not been matter of Conſcience to him. What do ye think of a Presbyterian Conſcience? I could give you an hundred more ſuch inſtances, for indeed it has been obſerved generally all alongſt, that thoſe have been the greateſt Enemies to the Clergy, to whom they had done the beſt Offices. But it would require a great deal of work, to make you underſtand this head of Perſecution fully, and therefore I'll break it off: And tell you only briefly that

If ever you come to underſtand the ſtate of our Affairs diſtinctly, you will find, our Ignorance lies mainly in our being unacquainted with the Principles of Sedition, and the *Jus Divinum* of Presbytery; our Scandal, in our being ſo generally look'd upon as nothing fond of change and Revolution: Our Negligence, in parting with our Benefices rather than our Conſciences; our Erroneouſneſs, in adhering ſo ſtubbornly to the Principles laid down in Scripture, and maintain'd by the Primitive Chriſtians; and our itch for Perſecuting Diſſenters to lye chiefly in our inclinations, to live and behave as becomes good Subjects; or, if ye would have it ſhorter, we are ignorant, ſcandalous, negligent, erroneous, inſufficient, Perſecutors; and whatever men pleaſe to call us, becauſe we are not Presbyterians.

That's truly the matter; and therefore we are now made to ſuffer ſo ſeverely, not only by being ſo treated in our Perſons and Privileges, as I have briefly accounted; but alſo by being ſo robb'd of our Reputations, and loaded with Reproaches: And all this too, under pretence to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion, and make theſe Kingdoms happy. I dare not tell you, how much I am tempted, when I reflect on all together, to ask you ſome unfaſhionable Queſtions, ſuch as theſe: Is that to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion, when men muſt either ſuffer, or part with the moſt diſtinguiſhing Characters, and moſt undoubted Principles of the Proteſtant Religion? Is the rendering ſo many Proteſtant Miniſters, uſeleſs and miſerable; becauſe they will not play *Jeſuitiſh tricks*, the way to ſecure Proteſtant Religion? Is there no other way to ſecure the Proteſtant Religion; but to tranſaccident it (pardon the word, 'tis as good as Tranſubſtantiate) into a pretence for juſtifying all the injuries can be done to our Spiritual Fathers? Is there no other way to make a Kingdom happy, but by making downright havock of the Clergy in it? Cannot a Kingdom be happy unleſs God's Portion be either turn'd out of their Functions in it, or run the hazard of being

being turn'd out of his favour, and excluded his Eternal Kingdom? These and twenty more such Questions, I say, I am strongly tempted to ask you, but I forbear: Only before I conclude,

As I said before, I will not recriminate with our Presbyterian Brethren, I will not go to tell them back again, that they are ignorant or scandalous, *&c.* I will not treat them so uncivilly as to throw back their dung in their own faces: I am not fond of such Retaliations. But this I will say, if they plant the Church of *Scotland*, so well as it was planted, when the Prince of *Orange* came to *England*, so long as he lives; if, for all their pretensions to the Spirit, the Gospel be Preached so purely, so rationally, and so disinterestedly under their Government, as it has been by the Episcopal Clergy these many years by-gone; if ever the State have Peace, or the Church come to a settlement; if ever our King sit securely on his Throne, or *Cæsar* have the things that are *Cæsars*: If ever the Church of *England* (as little as she has been concerned hitherto in her Sisters afflictions) want a horn in her side, or be secur'd against attempts for her ruin; and if ever there be Peace, or Order, or desirable Concord; if ever Animosities, Divisions, Contentions, and such other Plagues of Humane Society, and Christian Unity be wanting at home, so long as their *Dagon* stands in the Temple; Experience has deceiv'd me, and I have mistaken my Measures.

Thus, Sir, you have a brief prospect of the present State of the *Scottish* Clergy, fuller by much than at first I intended, perhaps then you are pleased with, and ye may think it tedious: But I acknowledge I have that weakness; I have not the faculty of dispatching things so smoothly, and so shortly, as possibly your palate would require: But my Apology is ready; I have omitted an hundred things, proper to have been inserted; if I am tedious, it is in telling truth, and if the length of this weary you, you shall not be so troubled again: For these Reasons expecting your Pardon, I am *&c.*

The Third LETTER.

SIR,

I Told you in the Concluſion of my laſt, that I had omitted many things, proper to have been inſerted: I could eaſily juſtifie it, by giving you another every whit as long and full of matter of Fact as it was. Particularly I could give you a great many more inſtances of Miniſters, who received hard Meaſure from the Council: ſuch as *Pitcairn* of *Logie*, who was Deprived, though theſe eight or ten years by-gone, he has been intirely diſabled for the Pulpit, through old age and infirmity, and has been obliged to maintain an Aſſiſtant. *Jonkine* at *Abernethy*, upon his not appearing, the very minute he was firſt called, though he kept the day preciſely, to which he was Cited, and was preſent about twelve of the Clock, and had the *Forth* to croſs that morning: and the Council at that time uſed to ſit as well after, as before Noon, for Depriving Miniſters. *Falconer*, a Miniſter in *Murray*, notwithſtanding he pleaded for himſelf, that the Lord *Dundee* was his Hearer that day on which the Proclamation was ordered to be Read; that it was eaſie to conjecture what might have been his hazard, had he Read it in his hearing: that after that he had Prayed publickly for King *William* and Queen *Mary*. That if the Council ſhould yet enjoyn him, he would Read the Proclamation; and that for his part, he believed Presbytery was as agreeable to the Word of God, and as ſubſervient to the ends of Chriſtianity, as Epiſcopacy, and therefore was as willing to keep his Miniſtry under the one, as the other: but there was Original ſin in him; he was a Biſhops Son, and ſo no Mercy for him. But *Moncrief*, Miniſter at *Herriot*, his Caſe is prettieſt of all, he has done all Duty, and made all Complyances, yet his Church is diſpoſed of, and a Presbyterian Preacher, actually and formally admitted to it. Twenty other inſtances might eaſily be Collected.

I could likewiſe tell you what ſeverities have been uſed in turning Miniſters out of their Dwellings, this Winter, after their Deprivation: as in the Caſe of Mr. *Galbraith*, Miniſter at *Jedburgh*, a very Reverend and worthy Perſon. All the Gentlemen within the Pariſh Addreſſed to the Council in his behalf; proteſted they were ſorry

ſorry that he was Deprived: ſupplicated that he might be permitted to live this Winter in the *Manſe, i. e.* Parſonage-Houſe, for no body was making pretenſions to it; no Presbyterian Preacher was ſettled there; and it was a Thatcht Houſe, it would be endamaged, if it were not inhabited, if Fire were not kept in it, *&c.* But for all that, the good Parſon was forced to remove by the Councils Order. The ſame was alſo the Caſe of Mr. *Millar,* Miniſter at *Muſſleburgh,* and very many others. Nay (I know not if they have got their ſecret inſtructions renewed for it) the Rabbling work is revived in the Weſt lately, and now they will not ſuffer the poor afflicted Miniſters, (who were thruſt out a year ago) to ſtay ſo much as in that Country; though they have no mony to Tranſport their Families with, being refuſed payment of their by-gone Stipends. So it has fared within theſe few days with Mr. *Hamilton,* Miniſter at *Kirkoſwald,* and *Irwine* at *Kilbride,* and I am told there is a Deſign to baniſh from that Town all who live in *Dumfries,* and thoſe in *Glaſgow* dread the ſame likewiſe.

I cannot forbear neither, to tell you, what has happened lately at *Edinburgh*: there are five or ſix of the Epiſcopal Clergy in that City, who have given all Obedience; ſo they ſtill poſſeſs their Churches. Each of theſe Churches has its own Utenſils, Baſons, Lavers, Chargers, Chalices, Communion-Table-Cloaths, *&c.* All Dedicated long ago by private Perſons, who lived in the reſpective Pariſhes. A Church-Treaſurer is Choſen yearly by the Church Seſſions, to whom theſe Utenſils are Concredited, and to theſe Seſſions he is accountable for them at the years end. This has been one immemorial Cuſtom in that City; yet the preſent Magiſtrates (all Rank Presbyterians) would needs have theſe Utenſils delivered up to them; particularly, they required them of him who this year bears the Office of Church-Treaſurer, or, which is all one, who is the Elder or Church-Warden, to whom the Utenſils of that Church for this year are entruſted, for that which is commonly called the *Tolbooth* Church: he refuſed to ſurrender them (and why ſhould he have done it? They were not ſo much as Dedicated by the Publick, and they were that Churches Property. No Magiſtrates had ever demanded the like before, and the preſent Magiſtrates are no more concerned in them, than in any private Citizens Furniture;) For this he was thruſt into Priſon; but he made Application to the Lords of Seſſion, who found the thing ſo infinitely illegal, that they forthwith ordered his Liberation, and diſcharged ſuch Proceedings for the future. Perhaps you may think this is but a trifle, but there is

more

more in it than you are aware of: For, beſides that Sir *John Hall*, preſent Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, is a Privy Counſellor, and conſequently is not to be ſuppoſed to have attempted ſuch a thing without firſt conſulting *Crawford*, and ſome others who ſit at that Table; there is this at the bottom of it: In each of theſe Pariſhes there is a Presbyterian Meeting-Houſe, and the Preachers (though they ſtand on no other Found, but King *James* his Toleration) hold themſelves for the rightful Paſtors of theſe Pariſhes, and ſo pretend that the uſe of theſe Utenſils belongs to them, and they ought to have them in their Cuſtody: this was that which put the Magiſtrates upon the foreſaid Courſe.

Innumerable ſuch things as theſe I could eaſily Collect, and weary your patience with them, but methinks by this time, you have got Taſte enough of the Epiſcopal Parties Troubles on the one hand, and the Prebyterian Parties Temper on the other, to make you underſtand both competently; and that was all I intended. Only there are two things perhaps, which you may be deſirous to have ſome further ſatisfaction about; and I will try if I can give it.

The firſt is, That poſſibly ye may apprehend, I did not in my laſt ſufficiently take off theſe Aſperſions which are thrown upon the Epiſcopal Clergy by the Phanatick News Mongers, in their Malicious Papers, and Pamphlets, which they are Printing and Diſperſing ſo confidently every day at *London*. To tell the truth, Sir, We only hear of theſe Papers; at leaſt for my part I have ſeen none of them; they come not ordinarily to *Scotland*, and I believe their Authors are no ways inclined they ſhould, (it requires a great deal of Forehead to tell lies where they can be eaſily diſcovered) and not coming to our hands, how can we detect or expoſe their falſities? I am ſure, I ſaid enough in the general to fortifie you, or any ſober Man, againſt them; eſpecially as to all theſe Miniſters Deprived by the Council; for, (as I ſaid there) the Council never took notice of any thing but Reading and Praying. But what though Malicious Men tell falſe ſtories with a great deal of Confidence? Are you ſuch a Stranger to the World, as not to know that Lying has ever been one of the chief Artifices by which that Party have carried on their purpoſes; It is no new Politick of theirs. I could tell you ſome of the oddeſt Stories that ever you heard ſince you was born, concerning their dexterity in that Art, in the late Times: but I will trouble you only with one at preſent; indeed the whole World ſhould know it, it has ſuch peculiarities in it.

You

You know how *Anno* 1638. at the Aſſembly of *Glaſgow*, they not only pretended to Depoſe the Biſhops, but even to Excommunicate many of them: amongſt the reſt, that moſt Reverend and Worthy Prelate, *Spotſwood*, Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews*. The Sentence of Depoſition and Excommunication paſſed againſt him, was ordered to be Read Publickly after the Forenoons Sermon, in all the Churches within his Dioceſs; and, in it, a great many horrid immoralities, (ſuch as Inceſt and Adultery, *&c.*) were amaſſed. Amongſt many others, it was Read particularly in the Church of *Kilrinny* in *Fife*, by Mr. *Coline Adam*, then Miniſter there; *Beaton* of *Balfour* was in the Church at the time, he was not a little amazed, at hearing ſuch ſtrange things charged upon the Arch-Biſhop. He had lived many a year in his Neighbourhood. He had been frequently in Company with him; but had never diſcovered ſuch Crimes about him, ſo that he was exceedingly ſurprized: but that was the leaſt on't. In the progreſs of the Sentence he heard himſelf named as one of four Witneſſes, who had been examined upon Oath, and by their Teſtimonies had proven theſe things againſt him: this aſtoniſhed him quite, for it was not only notorious to all the Neighbourhood, that during the whole time that famous Aſſembly ſate, he was not at *Glaſgow*, but ſtill at home; but no body knew it better than Mr. *Adam* himſelf, for he had not only been his conſtant Auditor every *Sunday*, but he had ſeen him (or might have done it) every day; there being but a very ſhort diſtance (perhaps not two hundred Paces) betwixt their Dwellings. In effect it put the Gentleman in ſuch diſorder, that he had well nigh ſtopped the Miniſters Reading any further, if his Father, who was by him, had not hindered him, telling him he would Ruin himſelf. However, after they came out, he Challenged the Miniſter, who eaſily confeſt he knew it was a Lie, but pretended he behoved to Read it, in Obedience to Authority. And what might he not have done after that? Tell me Sir, was not this a well aſſured wickedneſs? This paſſage I have from perſons of great integrity, yet alive, who told me, they had it twenty times from *Beaton's* own Mouth; and it is but one of a thouſand, as good, if I could be at the pains to Collect them. *Piæ fraudes* (talk we what we pleaſe) have done good Service, and been excellent Chriſtian Tools in their time, for carrying on the Good Old Cauſe. But it was not ſcarcity that made me go ſo far back for Proofs of Presbyterian Honeſty: theſe twelve or fourteen months by-gone afford variety enough in all Conſcience. Thus to inſtance but in two or three things.

What

What Effrontery was uſed laſt year at *London*, for running down all the Accounts, were ſent up, concerning the Perſecution of the Weſtern Clergy, as I told you before? Such ingrain'd impudence (had it not been ſeen and felt) I had believed, could neither have come from Hell nor It, the two grand Staple-Ports for that Commodity. What Relations of Oaths, what confident Aſſertions, what Printed Papers had we for King *James* his being Dead at *Breſt* in *March* laſt? I remember the preſent Earl of *Argile*, one day diſturbed a whole Meeting-Houſe, with a forged Letter about it.

With what ſhameleſſneſs did the News go up firſt, and then come down again from *London* in *September* laſt, and paſs current here: That the Streets of *Edinburgh* were thronged with the Heads or Chieftains of Clanns, coming in dayly to take the benefit of King *William*'s Indemnity, that was publiſhed after *Dundee*'s death? Though all the Kingdom knows, not ſo much as one has come in to this very day? And what ſtrange Tales have been told of the wonderful Feats of *Iniskilling* Men? I remember ſome Gentlemen about two Months ago, went in one Afternoon to a Presbyterian Coffee-Houſe, called for the News Book, caſt up the account of the *Iriſh* killed by them, and after computation, found the number amounted to above 48000. Theſe are but their ordinary tricks, and with us they have now ceaſed to be Scandalous; for by Cuſtom we are come to reckon it no more ſtrange to find that Party Lie, than to ſee *Danes* Drink, or *Engliſhmen* eat Pork or Pork-Pudding: ſo that indeed Sir, I pity you heartily, if your Charity towards the Epiſcopal Clergy in this Kingdom can be in the leaſt ſhaken by the boldneſs of theſe miſerable Scriblers.

I will only add one thing more upon this Head, and that is, that whatever may be Publiſhed that way, muſt needs be falſe upon this account, that (as very many have obſerved) ſince ever the Deprivation Work began; all the favour ſhown, has been to thoſe who leaſt deſerved it; and if there was any leſs Knowing, leſs Circumſpect in their Lives, or any ways leſs Qualified for continuing in the Miniſtery, they are the Men, who have hitherto eſcaped Deprivation. The Politick is no more Damnable than Underſtood; for as the ſhewing ſome Favour to ſuch, with leſs diſcerning Perſons, may chance to paſs for an Argument of the Councils Moderation: ſo under this Cover they have the opportunity of doing a great deal of Miſchief; they Ruin more ſecurely, and with leſs obſervation, thoſe of unqueſtionable Lives, and Abilities, and diſable them for being Remora's

Remora's hereafter, either to the Settling or Securing Presbytery, which they are affraid they might have been, after the preſent Ferment is over, had they continued in their Stations; and hereby they hope to Ruin their Reputations too, with people who think little, and Strangers, who cannot know all the intrigues of their buſineſs; for ſuch may readily conclude they have deſerved worſe, ſeeing theſe are Deprived, while others are preſerved: and then, beſides all this, to theſe leaſt deſerving, the ſeeming Favour, of ſparing them at preſent, is ſhewn, upon this Deſign, in all likelyhood, that afterwards they may be Ruined and Diſgraced with the greater contempt and ignominy; for, being the weaker Men of the Epiſcopal ſide, they foreſee, they will not only not be able to make a ſuitable Reſiſtance to the Zealous Gang, when it ſhall be in Circumſtances to diſpute it with them; but alſo it will be eaſie for the Eccleſiaſtical Viſitations to Depoſe them: and not only ſo, but their Fall when it comes, may be readily improven into an heavy Reflection, on all of Epiſcopal Principles: and Phanaticks will have in readineſs to ſay, that the whole Party was ſtill ſuch, and by theſe, it may be judged what all the reſt either were or are. This is truely the Politick, Sir: but by this time I think I have inſiſted too much on this purpoſe.

The other thing perhaps is more Material; for when you have conſidered all I ſaid in my laſt, perhaps ye may think it ſtrange, that you have found nothing concerning the inclinations of the generality of the People: and ſuch a general Perſecution of the Epiſcopal Clergy on the one hand, and ſo deep a ſilence concerning the Reſentments of the People on the other, may perchance ſeem to you a Demonſtration of the Truth of that Article in our new Claim of Right (for we may thank our Stars, we have once gotten an Original Contract betwixt King and People) which affirms, That Prelacy, and the Superiority of any Office in the Church above Presbyters, is, and hath been a great and inſupportable Grievance, and Trouble to this Nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the People, *&c.* But the Truth is Sir, as from the beginning I was unwilling to fall foul upon the State; ſo I thought that did not come ſo naturally in my way; for my deſign was only to acquaint you with the treatment of the Clergy; and not to Canvaſs every Aſſertion, that has been boldly obtruded on the World by their Perſecutors. But ſeeing that Article makes ſuch a noiſe, and I hear ſome of your *Engliſh* Pamphleteers are taking notice of it, and talking Confidently that it is True. I am content to trou-

ble you with a dozen of Lines, or ſo, about it: And in the firſt place;

Perhaps it might be ſufficient to ſay no more; but, What then? What tho the generality of the People were ſo enclined? Will it follow, therefore, Epiſcopacy ought be aboliſhed in *Scotland?* If I miſtake not, I have heard as good Arguments anſwered with a *Non ſequitur.* But if I am miſtaken, and the Argument is good, then all you Gentlemen, the Divines of *England*, are moſt miſerably affronted; affronted, I ſay, by the Scotch Meeting of Eſtates, tho there was not ſo much as one Divine amongſt them, when they voted their Claim of Right: You have been wretchedly out all this while, in your Diſputes with the Papiſts, tho you made a great noiſe with them (and they were too weak for you) theſe four or five Years by-gone. You have never hit upon the true Rule of Faith and Manners (ſhall I call it) or the Judg, the infallible Judg of Controverſies; that Honor was reſerved for the Scotch Laicks, they are the Men who have been the true Students of the *Diſciplina Arcani*, and have fallen upon the Knack; The inclinations of the generality of the People (tho God knows what a Rule it would have made in our Saviours time) are the thing; they are Rule or Judg, or whatever you pleaſe to call them; and what more would ye have? Lord what a Field has a Man here, if he pleaſed to be wanton! But I muſt cut ſhort, and therefore let me return to be ſerious: Why then, to tell you in a word, Sir, if I may ſay it without giving the Lye to the Convention.

There's not a falſer Propoſition in the World, than, that the Inclinations of the generality of the People of *Scotland* are againſt Epiſcopacy; or that they look upon it as a great and inſupportable Grievance and Trouble to the Nation: And let us have a Poll for it when they will, and you ſhall quickly ſee the Demonſtration: If this does not ſatisfie you, I have more yet to ſay.

I can affirm, with a well grounded aſſurance, that, if by the People you mean the Commonalty, the rude, illiterate Vulgus, the third Man through the whole Kingdom is not Presbyterian; and if by the People, you mean thoſe who are Perſons of better Quality and Education (whoſe ſenſe in my opinion, ought in all reaſon, to go for the ſenſe of the Nation) I dare boldly aver, not the 13th. For notwithſtanding all the Clamors that are made on that Head, 'tis well known to all the Kingdom, that Fanaticiſm has all alongſt had little footing in that far wider half of the Kingdom, which lies on the North of the *Tay*. And tho the Party has been infinitely earneſt and active to encreaſe and multiply their Numbers every where; yet in all that Country, they could never get above three or four Meeting-Houſes erected, and theſe too, very

very little frequented or encouraged. Nay, even on this side the *Tay* (except in the five associated Shires in the West) the third Man was never engaged in the Schism. For convincing you of this, I'll ask no other Postulate, than what I suppose you and all considering Men will readily grant, and that is, that Phanaticism is more apt to spread and prevail in Towns than in the Country; so that by them we may best judg of the Numbers of the Party. It would make an intolerable Work to go through all; let me only instance in some of them, where the Experiment has been remarkably made, not many Months ago; and by these ye may judg of the rest.

At *Perth* (or S. *Johnstown*) where now a Presbyterian Minister is most illegally possessed of the Church, the tenth man does not go to hear him, and particularly, not one of the Magistrates, tho they were elected by Poll. At *Cowpar* in *Fife*, the Presbyterian Preacher (now possessed of the Church) sometimes has not forty or fifty people in his Congregation. The great Body waits all upon the Regular Clergy, who have there got a Meeting-House. 'Tis much the same at S. *Andrews*. At *Sterling* and *Burnt-Island*, the Magistrates were likewise chosen by the Poll, but all Malignants, as they call them. At *Sterling* (as I am told) the Presbyterian Votes were not one to six. At *Burnt-Island* they were but one to three. 'Tis true indeed, the Privy Council has turn'd out these Magistrates in both Towns, and put Presbyterians in their stead. Some admire how arbitrarily it was done: but I am only concerned for the Inclinations of the generality of the people.

At *Mussleburg* more than eighteen of twenty parts have once and again (since their Pastor was deprived) supplicated the Council, that during the Vacancy, they might have Regular Clergy-Men to officiate amongst them. I could instance also, in *Dumfermling*, *Dysert*, *Weems*, *Leith*, *Jedburgh*, *Kelso*, and many other places. Nay,

Even in *Edinburgh*, the Churches where the Episcopal Clergy (who have complyed) preach, are more thronged, and better frequented, than the Churches usurped by the Presbyterians: not to mention, that every Sunday there are five or six several Meetings of Men, who are not very well pleased with either Presbyterians, or complying Episcopalians. Shall I tell you further yet, what I am credibly told, concerning even *Glasgow* it self? I am told, Sir, that even in that City, which has been so famous for phanatick Zeal, and wherein on Christmas last, for a demonstration of it, the Rabble (with the present Earl of *Argyle* on their Head) burnt, with the Pope, our two Archbishops in effigie; I am told, I say, that even in that City, the greater number of Citizens of the best quality are of Episcopal Principles.

Indeed, Sir, whatever number of Friends they might have had a year or two ago, I am confident this day it is diminiſhed by a third: For beſides that peoples eyes are now beginning to open, and ſee the inconſiſtency of their principles and practices, with the common rules of Nature, as well as Chriſtianity, they are beginning to have enough of their cant, and to be weary of their Sermons. And here I cannot forbear to relate to you a paſſage, which I had lately from a very ingenious Gentleman; he had had a converſation with another Gentleman of good Quality, and good Abilities, but who had been engaged by his intereſt to go to the Presbyterian Aſſemblies; in their converſation they came to talk concerning the Presbyterian Preachers, and that Gentleman told my Author, he had now heard them for two months, or ſo; but he had obſerved, that he had never ſo much as heard one Criticiſm at the Explication of a Text, never one Citation out of Father, Poet, or Philoſopher, never one paſſage either of Civil or Church Hiſtory. *What?* (replyed my Author) *it ſeems then ye get nothing but pure Scripture, clean Goſpel; but tell me, do ye get any great abundance of good ſenſe? To tell the truth* (he anſwered) *even as little of that too as any man could wiſh.* * But what needs more? They themſelves are beginning now to be ſenſible, that they are by far the ſmaller party: and if I pleaſed, I could name a certain perſon, a Stateſman, who had a great hand in the late Revolution, and has yet in the preſent Government, who confeſſed lately to another certain perſon, that now he was perſuaded (tho he never believed it before) that the Epiſcopal was not only by far the greater, but even the better part of the Nation. But after all this;

* See the Poſtſcript

Perhaps you may ſtart the Difficulty; How came it then to paſs, that that Article was put in the Claim of Right, and the Presbyterian Party prevailed ſo far in the Convention and Parliament? I could eaſily give you abundant ſatisfaction as to that too; but it would require a fuller Deduction than I am willing to fall upon at preſent; only in a word, when the Members for the Convention were a chuſing, the Kingdom generally was in a perfect confuſion; vaſt numbers of people there were whoſe Opinions would not allow them to give any countenance to the then Tranſactions, they having many ſcruples in their Heads concerning the Lawfulneſs of that whole procedure. On the other hand, the Presbyterians (fond of the opportunity of getting a King depoſed, and their *Diana* ſet up) were infinitely diligent: So, many Elections were very far from being what they would have been, had the Loyal and Epiſcopal Party beſtirred themſelves as they might: neither yet would that have done the buſineſs, in all probability; for even as Elections paſſed, when the

the Members first convened at *Edinburgh*, had any Interest espoused by them been subjected to a Vote, Affairs had gone far otherwise than they did. But the Presbyterian Party foreseeing that, industriously projected delays, and protracted time; and in the interim were infinitely vigilant to biass the Members; so that before either the Forfeiture of the King, or that Article of the Claim of Right, I am now concerned in, were voted, many of the Nobility, all the Bishops, and a great number of Barons and Burgesses had deserted the House; and not a few of those who stayed, had (what through fear, and weakness, and the like infirmities) changed their Principles, which their Electors supposed were in them, and they brought to *Edinburgh* with them. This is the true way that matters went: I could easily give you an account of the Topicks were made use of, for inveigling these Members who were imposed upon: It was impossible the Protestant Religion could be otherwise secured; *England* was a wise Nation, they had set the Crown on King *William*'s Head already; if *Scotland* should dissent, it would ruin the Nation; the *English* were satisfied Presbytery should be established here; and King *William* was earnest for it, (which, to tell you by the by, I never or very hardly could perswade my self to believe) and a great many more to the same purpose. These and twenty things more I could deduce more largely, if it were needful; but my Paper is now very near spent, and so you must content your self with what you have got at present.

Thus, Sir, in two long Letters I have endeavoured, in part, to satisfie you concerning the present Estate of the *Scottish* Clergy. If my Account is lame, it is no wonder, for I am none of the most observing men in the world; and I was obliged for very good Reasons to forbear consulting others, and use only such Materials as my own observation could afford me. But this I can say over again, tho you have not all, yet you have nothing but Truth; and tho it be not well digested, it is as well as I could, considering my Conveniences. And so I bid you heartily farewel: being, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

I was once minded to have told you fully too, what bitter Reflections our Presbyterians are daily casting upon your Church of *England*; how they condemn her Clergy for deserting the Principles of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, they were wont to glory so much in; how it is their common talk, that King *William* loves Episcopacy as ill in *England*, as in *Scotland*, and would be content to have it away (they believe,

lieve, to make way for the *Dutch* Model) if he could get it done; and twenty other such Stories. But I believe, 'tis only their hatred to your Constitution, makes them talk so. Yet this is certain, we have here Reprinted a Pamphlet, called the *Ceremony-monger*, and (as I am informed) at the command of some great person.

I am afraid, that possibly, I may have been injurious to the Privy Council, in giving a partial account of their Act passed on Christmas Eve last, For I find many people are of the opinion, that it is not to be limited to the year 89, but may comprehend former years also, for which Reason, and because in its Narrative, it brings some further light (tho it needed no more) to what I had asserted concerning their being refused the protection of the Government, who were turned out of their Churches by the Rabble, before the thirteenth of *April*, I have subjoined the Act here word by word, as it stands in the Register. And 'tis thus:

At Edingburgh, Decem. 24. 2689. *The Lords of his Majesties Privy Council considering, that by the Act of the Meeting of the Estates of the Date the thirteenth of* April *last, there is a difference made betwixt the Ministers then in possession and exercise of their Ministery at their respective Churches, and those who were not so; and that the Case of the Ministers who were not in the actual exercise of their Ministerial Function the thirteenth day of* April *last by-past, lies yet under the consideration of the Parliament; and left in the mean time they may call and pursue for the stipend alledged due to them, or put in execution the Decreets and Sentences already obtained at their instance, for the same, before the Estates of Parliament can meet, and give their Determination as to that point. Therefore the said Lords of Privy Council, finding that the Case foresaid, depending before the Parliament, is not obvious to be cognosced, and decided upon by the inferior Judges, but that the samine should be left intire to the Decision of the Parliament, have thought fit to signifie to all inferior Courts and Ministers of the Law, that the Matter above-mentioned is depending before the Parliament: To the effect they may regulate and govern themselves in the Judging of all Processes to be intented before them, upon the said Matter, or in executing Sentences already pronounced thereupon as they will be answerable.*

Sic subscribitur,

Crafurd J. P. D. S. lon.

I have just now (after my Sheet was ended) learned a Passage, which is put for the confirmation of that which has a Cross at it, and on the Margin,

Margin refers to the Poſtſcript. It is that a Presbyterian Miniſter in *Edinburgh* confeſſed (with regrate) to a Gentleman, this ſame very Week, that within this half year by-gone their Party has loſt a great many thouſands; 'tis true, he called them 40, but I muſt beg his pardon: for I doubt if they could ever reckon, by ſo great numbers, in the whole Kingdom (I ſtill except the five Weſtern Shires, where yet there's as little Religion, as in any part of Chriſtendom.) He ſaid further, That tho Patronages were a great Corruption, and the Church would never be well conſtitute, till they were aboliſhed, and popular Elections advanced in their ſtead; yet they are not inclined, that that matter ſhould be determined the enſuing Seſſion of Parliament, becauſe they find as the preſent Inclinations of the generality of the People go; were the ſettling of Miniſters referred to popular Elections, they would chuſe all either *Cameronians*, or of Prelatical Principles: I ſuppoſe his Meaning was, in the often mentioned five Weſtern Shires, *Cameronians* would be choſen, and Epiſcopal Clergy-men through the reſt of the Kingdom generally. By this ye may judge, whether I had reaſon to ſay, that their Party is very much diminiſhed, and themſelves are very ſenſible of it.

The Fourth LETTER.

Edinb. Jan. 11. 1690.

SIR,

I Wiſh you a good New Year: When I parted with you lately at *London*, I found your Tenderneſs and Compaſſion enclin'd you to lament the ſad condition of our Church, and I remember you ordered me then to let you know whether the Truth of things would juſtifie the Reports that went current there, of the Sufferings of the Clergy; I found that the half was not told you then of what is commonly known in this place. No Hiſtory can parallel the tragical Diſaſters the Clergy have met with ſince the beginning of this Revolution; it is very ſurpriſing, the preſent Governours ſhould make it their buſineſs to ſacrifice the Epiſcopal Clergy (by Law eſtabliſhed) to the Fury and blind Rage of an oppoſite Faction; Strangers will wonder at it, and it is not eaſily accountable what can be the Politic to imbitter ſo conſiderable a Body. It is ſhameful for the Judges to be ſo partial, as plainly and openly to avow, they do not intend their

their Obedience, but their Ruin. To give you a particular account of the Diſgraces and Affronts put upon the Clergy ſince the beginning of 1689. would fill a Volume: How they have been driven in the midſt of Winter, with their Wives and tender Children, from their Houſes and Reſidence: Nor is this to be imputed ſo much to the barbarous Executioners, as to the bloody and enthuſiaſtick Company that inſpir'd them. There is no ſafety for ſome Men, but in the univerſal Shipwreck of Church and State; the ſhaking of the Nation was ſo terrible, that all the Scum got uppermoſt, our State and our Church were at once levelled with the Earth, and the Proteſtant Religion loſt its former ſignification (when we underſtood by it unmix'd Chriſtianity free from Superſtition and Enthuſiaſm) and now it is no more than every mans fantaſtic humor, new Models of Government, and a liberty to pull down the things that are moſt ancient and moſt ſacred. Will not the Proteſtants in *England* wonder, that ſome of our Miniſters have been deprived for not reading a Proclamation for a Faſt, the Narrative whereof implyed no leſs, than that the Epiſcopal Clergy were deſtitute of the aſſiſtance of God's Spirit in the exerciſe of their Miniſtry: You may ſee the Paper when you pleaſe, and I believe a coarſer you never ſaw in print. Not to mention here, that the Art of all Mankind could not make Senſe of a certain Paragraph in it. And is it not as odd, that when they were ſifted before the Council, they were not ſo much as once asked, why they did not read that extraordinary Paper, concerning the late King; nor whether they will comply with the preſent Government for the time to come. I know, if this Paper be ſeen abroad, their Impudence will contradict it, but a matter of Fact ſo publickly known, defies Calumny it ſelf. I have ſpoke with many of the Clergy here, and with a great many of the Laity; and I never heard of any thing more bitter and perſecuting. How unworthily the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* particularly have been treated in this Affair, the World may judg by this one inſtance. The ſaid Paper paſs'd in the Convention of the Eſtates upon *Friday*, it comes from the Preſs late at *Saturday*, and the Miniſters within the City upon half an hours advertiſement on *Sunday* Morning were enjoyned to read it, under paln of Deprivation. I remember you once blamed the Clergy for not Addreſſing the preſent Court for Protection: They made their Application from the beginning, but to no purpoſe, tho they were furniſh'd with all neceſſary Evidence of their bad Uſage. You know that Presbytery is to be eſtabliſhed here by the next Seſſion of Parliament; and you know that the *Roman* Inquiſition is not half ſo rigid as that will be when

when they are once in the Saddle: To what purpoſe then ſhould they beat the Air, when their Ruin is thought by many to be a part of the Bargain. There is nothing ſo inconſiſtent with Presbytery, as Toleration of any that differ from them in the leaſt Iota: It is true, they are againſt the Apoſtolick Doctrin of *Non-Reſiſtance*, but they will not be reſiſted themſelves. And ſince the Epiſcopal Clergy here know they are given up as a Prey to their Enemies Teeth, they had rather ſit ſilent under their Malleur, than ſtruggle with the Stream when it is ſo violent and impetuous. The preſent Faction endeavour by all Art and Induſtry, to perſwade King *William*, that the Flower and Multitude of the Nation is for Presbytery: It were an eaſie thing for him to put this to the tryal. Let the *Weſt-Country* People, who are ſo brave and generous in tearing Miniſters Gowns, reduce the Highlanders now in Arms for King *James*, and then let it be granted, that they are the Men they pretend to be: And unleſs they are able to do this, we muſt judge of them as a clamorous and inconſiderable Faction, whoſe Nature it is, to croſs and reſiſt every Creature that's but called a King. And it is very wonderful, that all the Civil Magiſtrates in Chriſtendom do not baniſh that Supremacy of the Kirk from off the Earth, being equally ſubverſive of all Republicks, as it is indeed inconſiſtent with Monarchy. The Proteſtants in the beginning of the Reformation, thought they did Chriſtendom good Service, when they diſcovered and expoſed the Tyranny of the Popiſh Supremacy over Chriſtian Magiſtrates; but the very ſame Doctrin of *Rome* is here hugg'd, as the great Palladium of the Proteſtant Religion. And to be ſhort, let them ſwear Allegiance to all the Kings in Chriſtendom, it muſt be in ſubordination to this great Article, that all Perſons and Councils muſt ſtrike Sail to omnipotent Presbytery; they are taught by their hopes of Heaven, to reſiſt the King, when he either counteracts or contradicts the Deciſions of the General Aſſembly, which general Aſſembly may and ought to meet when and where they pleaſe, without or againſt the King's expreſs Will: Theſe are not imaginary Conſequences faſten'd on them and their Doctrin by Art and ill Nature; but the plain Hiſtory of what they have done here, and by their Principles are obliged ſtill to do. A Liberty to tyrannize over all not of their ſtamp is the Idol they adore; the Kirk Supremacy is by ſo much the more miſchievous, by how much it is more inquiſitive, precipitate, and confuſed than the pretended Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*; but I have digreſſed too far. If the Diſaſters under which the Clergy groan, were confined to what they have ſuffer'd in their own Nation, it may be they would endure

it with greater patience. But when the Faction have hired some scurrilous Scriblers to defame them abroad by weekly Libels, it cannot but excite Indignation and Pity. There appear'd a Pamphlet lately called *Plain Dealing*; if the Author had been considerable for any thing, he might be sufficiently expos'd for his Lyes; but being but newly put upon writing of Books, he must be excus'd, if he cannot otherwise support the Faction, but by Calumny; when he is more expert, he will defend them with plausible and artificial Stories. It is not worth your while to go thorough the several Inconsistences and whining Impertinences that are in that Pamphlet. It is enough to glance at one, by which you may gues at the man's Impudence, *viz.* That in the Parliament 1685. all the Bishops, except Three, were for repealing the Penal Laws against the Papists, when it is known to the whole Nation, that all of them almost were determined to Vote against the repealing of those Laws, if ever that Affair was offer'd in Parliament: And such of them as might be thought to favor the design of repealing those Laws, did sincerely judg their Method in their Circumstances at that time, to be the best Fence and Shelter against Popery, and all their Concessions did not amount to *Min heer Fagel*'s famous Letter, which contained the Sentiments of the present Court.

When the Faction had ruined the Clergy at home, they were afraid they might be pityed abroad; and to justifie their Sacriledg and Villany, they endeavour to cover them all under Libels and Invectives, and represent them to other Nations, as vitious and Illiterate. For the information of Strangers, I will consider both parts of the Accusation; first, as to the Immoralities alledged against the Clergy, there cannot be a more atrocious and spiteful Calumny: It is not possible for them to convince credulous Strangers by an open, fair, and visible Tryal, that this is a Lye; for they have no Fence against the Malice and Activity of their Enemies, but their Patience and their Prayers; if their learned and compassionate Brethren in *England* would interpose so far with the present Court, as to have this Affair examined before any impartial Judicature; then such as were found guilty, should be depriv'd of the Honor of the Priesthood, and not suffered to continue Stumbling-Blocks to the People; but let me acquaint you plainly, that there shall never be such a Judicatory erected, and that it is not the Method of their Enemies, to have things fairly and calmly enquired into: And therefore the Clergy beseeches all generous Strangers to stop their Ears against such wicked and indefatigable Calumniators. They give their Enemies open and publick defiance upon this Head; it is enough that they are banished, rifled,

rifled, and plundered in the moſt ſavage manner, tho they be not robb'd of the Compaſſion of Strangers. It is true, that in the Records of Council, relating to the deprived Clergy, there is a Column containing Immoralities libelled againſt ſome of them; but it's as true, that tho they are recorded (to make the World believe them guilty) yet they were never examined fairly; the Artifice of their Enemies is mean, as it is wicked; firſt, to invent Calumnies and Slanders, and then leave them unexamined, boldly to vent them amongſt Strangers, when they had not the Confidence at home to give one inſtance of ſuch Immoralities amongſt ſo many Hundreds that have been deprived. How eaſily and how ſadly might they recriminate upon this Head; but that's not ſo pleaſant in it ſelf, nor will it ſerve the deſigns of Chriſtianity: But ſhortly there ſhall be a more full, free, and particular Anſwer given to thoſe ſcandalous Reports, in a Treatiſe ready for the Preſs. The Perſecutions of the Clergy here are beyond any parallel. I cannot forbear to give you one inſtance of it, Mr. *John Mowbray*, Miniſter of *Strachbrock*, complyed with the preſent Government in all its ſteps (a place not above Eight Miles from *Edinburgh*); yet upon the 12th of *July* 1689. a Company of Fanaticks who were ſufficiently taught how to behave themſelves, entered his Houſe in a hoſtile manner, tore his Gown, threatned his Life, beat his Daughter, and frighted his Wife to death; when their Fury was a little over, he ventur'd once again to officiate; but my Lord *Cardroſs*, Patron of the ſaid Church, and one of the Privy-Council, cauſed lock the Church Doors, and ſent his Miniſter a packing, tho he defies the ſevereſt Tryal for Life or Doctrin; and all this for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had Epiſcopal Ordination; for my Lord's Conſcience did not allow him to hear any ſuch.

As to the other Accuſation of their being Ignorant, I would gladly know, who are theſe learned Gentlemen among the *Scotch* Presbyterians that found them ſo after Tryal; this is a thing they dare not ſo much as whiſper at home, except it be amongſt thoſe good Women that ſell Tripes at the *Cow-Gate*. There could not be any thing thought on more comfortable to the Clergy here, than that there were ſome learned and grave *Engliſh* Church-Men ſent hither to enquire into the Literature and Sufficiencies of both the contending Parties. But this Propoſal will never be heard, it's enough that they are once run down with Clamor, Violence, and Noiſe: But it is no part of their buſineſs to have things put to a fair, ſerious, and open Tryal, they dare not attempt it, and therefore I allow you to defie the Accuſers of the Clergy upon this Head alſo, and to convince

vince Strangers how improbable this Calumny muſt be, let them conſider how much the oppreſſed Clergy was and is favored by the honorable and learned Society of the College of Juſtice, who are the beſt Judges in this Caſe. The Blaſphemies and Fooleries that are heard at preſent from the Pulpits of *Edinburgh*, make up the Entertainment of moſt Companies, they diſcourſe of the Myſteries of Chriſtianity ſo coarſly and familiarly, as they do of the meaneſt and vileſt things in Nature. But it is not poſſible that the regular Clergy can be ſo ignorant as their Enemies repreſent them: For the ſteps of their Tryal are various and difficult, before they are allowed to preach in publick: And when they are preſented to a Church, they undergo the ſame Tryals over again in Theology, Languages, and Preaching. I never heard that the Presbyterian Genius was very fond of too much Learning, eſpecially among the *Scotch* Cameronians, a kind of People ſo wedded to their own peculiar and nonſenſical Whimſies, that they are now become Antipods to Mankind in their Language, Behavior, Morals, and Intellectuals. There cannot be any thing imagined more fantaſtically fooliſh than the Education of their Preachers, when they have ſo much Latin as to underſtand a Dutch Syſtem, they are thought profound, and more learned than is neceſſary, and very few of them arrive at this. Lately one of them who had ſpent much of his time in ſelling Buttur and Cheeſe, would turn a Miniſter, and being asked if he underſtood Greek and Latin, anſwered No, he could read the Engliſh Bible, and that was enough. It is the ſaddeſt Oppreſſion to be run down with Clamor, and no probability of being heard: But let the Enemies of the Clergy remember the Jewiſh Proverb, *That he that pulleth a Stone out of the Temple, ere it be long the Duſt will fly in his Eyes.* The Ruin and Diſgrace of ſo many Clergy-Men, one would think, cannot be a good Foundation for a new Government. But this is not all, when the Clergy are thruſt from their Houſes and Livelihoods. It ſeems there is a further deſign to ſtarve them, as appears by a late Act of Council promoted by the Presbyterian Party, diſcharging all Judges within the Nation, to paſs Sentence in favors of the Clergy for the by-gone Tythes yet unpaid and due to the Epiſcopal Miniſters, until the Parliament take that Affair into their conſideration. I have ſent herewith a Double of that Act, make what uſe of it you pleaſe: I do not encline it ſhould be printed (tho this ſhould) for that would reflect too much upon the Honor of our Nation. What to do with either, I cannot adviſe you at this diſtance. Farewel.

FINIS.

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